Exhibit 2

Expert Report of Dr. Matt Barreto

Expert Report by Dr. Matt Barreto and Mr. Michael Rios on North Carolina Voting Patterns

1. Pursuant to 28 U.S.C. section 1746, I, Matt Barreto, declare as follows:

2. My name is Dr. Matt Barreto, and I am currently Professor of Political Science and Chicana/o Studies at the University of California, Los Angeles. I was appointed Full Professor with tenure at UCLA in 2015. Prior to that I was a tenured professor of Political Science at the University of Washington from 2005 to 2014. I earned my Ph.D. in Political Science at the University of California, Irvine.

3. At UCLA I am the faculty director of the Voting Rights Project in the Luskin School of Public Affairs and I teach a year-long course on the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (VRA), focusing specifically on social science statistical analysis, demographics and voting patterns, and mapping analysis that are relevant in political science expert reports in VRA cases. I have written expert reports and been qualified as an expert witness more than four dozen times in federal and state voting rights and civil rights cases, including in the state of North Carolina. I have published peer-reviewed social science articles specifically about minority voting patterns and racially polarized voting and have co-authored a software package (eiCompare) specifically for use in understanding racial voting patterns in VRA cases. I have been retained as an expert consultant by cities, counties and states across the country to advise them on racial voting patterns as they relate to VRA compliance during redistricting. As an expert witness in VRA lawsuits, I have testified dozens of times and my testimony has been relied on by courts to find in favor of both plaintiffs and defendants.

4. I have published books and articles specifically about the intersection of politics, ideology, and racially polarized voting. My 2013 book, *Change They Can't Believe In*, was published by Princeton University Press and was about the inherent connectedness between politics and racial attitudes in America today. The book won the American Political Science Association award for best book on the topic of racial and ethnic politics. I have submitted dozens of expert reports in federal and state courts, and numerous courts have relied on my testimony as credible.

5. My full professional qualifications and activities are set forth in my curriculum vitae. A true and correct copy has been attached hereto as Appendix C. I am being compensated by Plaintiffs at a fixed fee of $30,000 for this report, $500 per hour for subsequent work, and $700 per hour for testimony. My compensation is strictly for work performed and is not dependent on my opinions or conclusions.

6. I was retained in this case to assess voting patterns in North Carolina to determine if Black and white voters exhibit racially polarized voting, in particular focusing on a region with a large Black population in the northeast part of the state. I also reviewed the 2023 state Senate map enacted by the North Carolina General Assembly, as well as illustrative maps offered by Plaintiffs to assess their effectiveness as Black opportunity districts. Mr. Michael Rios, data scientist at the UCLA Voting Rights Project, assisted me with data collection and analysis, and has served as an expert witness and co-authored expert reports in numerous states.

7. I also reviewed population demographics for North Carolina from the 2010 and 2020 decennial Census and the 2021 and 2022 American Community Survey (ACS), for purposes of understanding population characteristics by racial/ethnic group statewide and within the northeast region.

8. Data for this report comes from the North Carolina State Board of Elections. Because of previous VRA requirements for states under the Section 5 preclearance, North Carolina continues to provide the race or ethnicity of voters and to archive that data with the State Board of Elections. Election results data,[1] voter racial/ethnic demographics,[2] and precinct shape files[3] can all be found online at the Board of Elections website. Map boundaries are available from the General Assembly's website for the 2023 newly enacted map. Plaintiffs' illustrative district map boundaries were provided to us by counsel. We obtained election and demographic data from counsel, from a public report submitted to the North Carolina state legislature during the redistricting process in 2023[4]. Race and population data were obtained from the U.S. Census 2010 and 2020 PL-94 Redistricting files, U.S. Census and ACS datasets[5].

I. Summary Conclusions

9. North Carolina racial and ethnic population demographics have changed significantly over the last decade. The share of the population that is white, non-Hispanic has declined from constituting 66% in 2012 to 62.2% in 2022, according to the U.S. Census ACS. In contrast, the Black population has increased from 22.6% in 2012 to 23.3% in 2022. Even though the white population is larger, the Black population grew by a larger number, adding 281,710 people over the last ten years, growing by 13.1% compared to growth of just 3.3% among whites.

10. Despite the Black population growing, the 2023 enacted state Senate map reduces Black voters' opportunity to elect candidates of choice, by diluting a Black influence district in Northeast North Carolina, reducing the Black voting age population by over 12 points in comparison to the prior map used in the 2022 elections. Even as the white share of the population declined statewide, the 2023 map enhances white voter influence and ignores the opportunity to create a performing Black-majority district.

11. In 31 contests analyzed across recent elections in 2020 to 2022, a strong and consistent pattern of racially polarized voting is found in North Carolina statewide, as well as in the 10-county Northeast region. The original analysis we conducted for this report is reinforced by the Harvard Law School Election Law Clinic, which reports statistically significant racially polarized voting in North Carolina statewide, as well as in the Northeast region for elections 2016–2020.[6] Our independent analysis was conducted across more than two dozen elections for

[1] Election data for 2022: https://dl.ncsbe.gov/?prefix=ENRS/2022_11_08/results_precinct_sort/ and election data for 2020: https://dl.ncsbe.gov/?prefix=ENRS/2020_11_03/results_precinct_sort/
[2] Voter demographic data for 2022: https://dl.ncsbe.gov/?prefix=ENRS/2022_11_08/ and demographic data for 2020: https://dl.ncsbe.gov/?prefix=ENRS/2020_11_03/
[3] https://dl.ncsbe.gov/?prefix=PrecinctMaps/
[4] https://southerncoalition.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/10/NCGA-VRA-Senate-Ltr-10.22.23-FINAL.pdf
[5] https://data.census.gov/
[6] Harvard Law School Election Law Clinic. "Ecological inference estimates – North Carolina 2020." RPV Near Me. https://www.rpvnearme.org/analyses/NC_2020.html

the North Carolina state legislature, North Carolina statewide offices, and federal offices, using two different court-approved ecological inference techniques and relying on the race of voters on the voter file for each election. The result was more than 350 ecological inference models and more than 350 racially polarized voting charts for statewide and regional analyses. In these elections, Black voters are cohesive in their support for Black-preferred candidates in every single contest. In contrast, the analysis finds that white, non-Hispanics consistently bloc vote against Black candidates of choice in North Carolina statewide, as well as specifically within the Northeast region. Thus, the second *Gingles*[7] precondition requiring that the minority group vote cohesively, and the third *Gingles* precondition requiring that whites vote as a bloc to typically defeat the minority group's candidate of choice, are both easily met in North Carolina statewide, as well as within the Northeast region specifically.

12. The two illustrative maps submitted by Plaintiffs both create a State Senate district in Northeast North Carolina that will give Black voters an opportunity to elect a candidate of their choice. Reviewing more than 30 recent election results, confined to just the geographic boundaries of the two illustrative maps, demonstrates that Plaintiffs' districts would allow the Black candidate of choice to be elected in all 30/30 elections. In contrast, the 2023 enacted map dilutes the Black vote and does not elect a Black candidate of choice in the geographic area covered by Plaintiffs' districts.

II. North Carolina Population Growth Characteristics

13. To situate the discussion about voting patterns and minority representation, we begin with a broader view of North Carolina and how its population has changed and shifted over the past ten years. The most recent data available is the U.S. Census American Community Survey 1-year population data, which is available by race and ethnicity. Overall, North Carolina's total population has increased by 946,900 since 2010. However, these gains were uneven by geography and race/ethnicity. Specifically, the white population experienced a decline in their population share from 66.0% in 2012 to 62.2% in 2022. While whites account for over 60% of the state population as a whole, only 21.6% of the population growth over the last ten years is attributable to whites, whereas 78.4% of population growth is attributable to non-Whites. The single largest growth in North Carolina over the last ten years has been from the Black population which added 281,710 population from 2012 to 2022. The Hispanic and Asian population also experienced considerable population growth. Overall, the white population grew by just 3.3% while the Black population grew at a rate four times higher than whites, growing by 13.1% in the last ten years.

[7] *See Thornburg v. Gingles*, 478 U.S. 30 (1986).

Table 1: North Carolina Population Change 2012 to 2022 by race/ethnicity

	2012	%	2022	%	Growth	%	Share Δ
Total	9,752,073		10,698,973		946,900	9.7%	
White, Non-Hispanic	6,292,533	66.0%	6,497,519	62.2%	204,986	3.3%	-3.8%
Black alone or combination	2,154,693	22.6%	2,436,403	23.3%	281,710	13.1%	0.7%
Hispanic or Latino	844,896	8.9%	1,114,799	10.7%	269,903	31.9%	1.8%
Asian alone or combination	271,751	2.8%	439,392	4.2%	167,641	61.7%	1.4%
All Other/Multiracial	188,200	2.0%	210,860	2.0%	22,660	12.0%	0.0%

* U.S. Census American Community Survey, 1-year population data for 2012 and 2022

Table 2: North Carolina Northeast Region (12-county) Population 2021 by race/ethnicity

	2021	%
Total	279,880	
White, Non-Hispanic	124,399	44.4%
Black alone or combination	134,966	48.2%
Hispanic or Latino	12,612	4.5%
Asian	2,106	0.8%
All Other / Multiracial	5,797	2.1%

* U.S. Census American Community Survey, 5-year population data for 2021

12-county region is: Bertie, Chowan, Gates, Halifax, Hertford, Martin, Northampton, Pasquotank, Perquimans, Vance, Warren, and Washington counties

14. Looking to the 12-county region in Northeast North Carolina (Table 2) it is clear that the Black community is large enough to create a majority-Black State Senate district. Using data from the 2021 5-year Census ACS, across the entire region Blacks are the largest racial or ethnic group at 48.2% of the population, while whites make up 44.4% of the population. Given that the Black population is *larger than* the white population, map makers would have to go out of their way to crack the Black population to create Senate districts in which it is smaller than the white population in Northeast North Carolina.

15. The Black population in the northeast region of the state is large and geographically compact, as shown in Figures 1-2. The newly enacted 2023 state Senate map cracks the Black population in this region between districts 1 and 2 and dilutes Black voting strength such that neither district 1 nor district 2 has a large enough Black voting age population to elect Black candidates of choice. As is clearly seen in Figures 1-2, looking at both county boundaries, or census block groups, there is a large enough Black population, concentrated in adjacent bordering counties, to meet the *Gingles 1* standard for creating a majority-Black district. Indeed, as we note below in an analysis of the Plaintiffs' illustrative maps, the *Gingles 1* threshold is met here.

Figure 1: Racial Heat Map of North Carolina
Counties Shaded by Percent Black (Green)

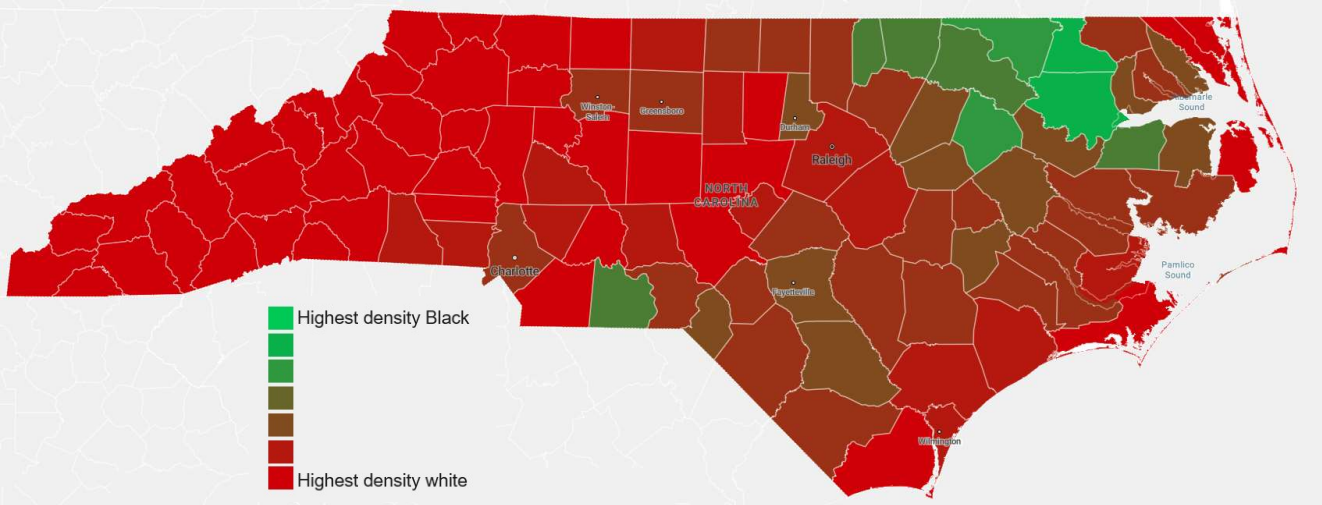
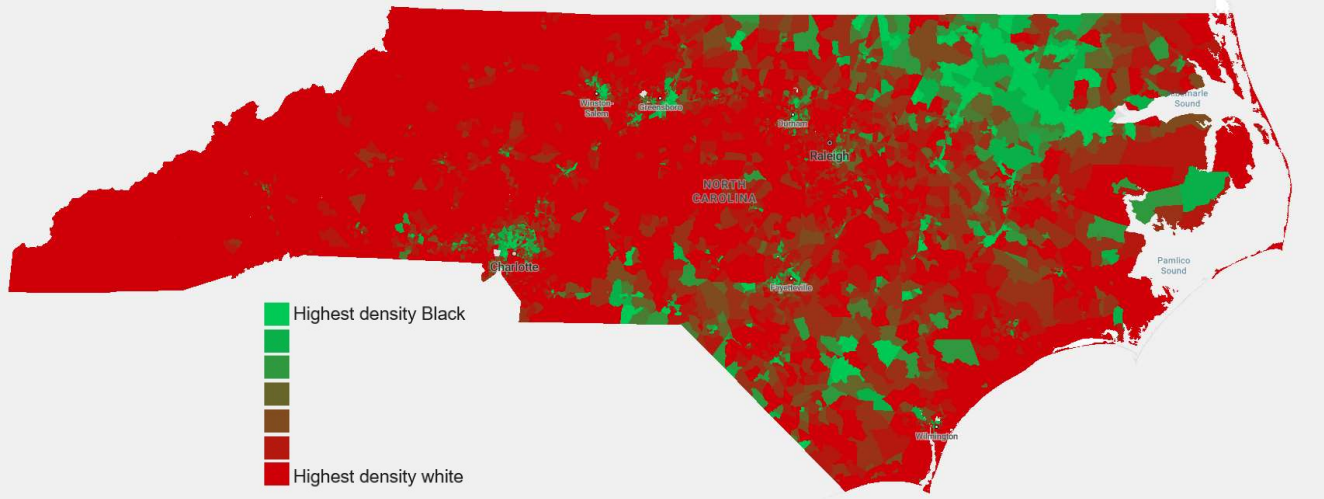


Figure 2: Racial Heat Map of North Carolina
Census Block Groups Shaded by Percent Black (Green)



III. Racially Polarized Voting Analysis

16. We next examine whether voters of different racial/ethnic backgrounds tend to prefer different or similar candidates in a wide range of electoral settings. The phenomenon called *racially polarized voting* (RPV) is defined as voters of different racial or ethnic groups exhibiting different candidate preferences in an election. It means simply that voters of different racial or ethnic groups are voting in polar opposite directions, rather than in a multi-racial or multi-ethnic coalition. If some groups of voters are voting in coalition, RPV analysis will identify such a trend. Voters may vote for their candidates of choice for a variety of reasons, and RPV analysis is agnostic as to why voters make decisions. RPV analysis simply reports *how* voters are voting. It measures the outcomes of voting patterns and determines whether patterns track with the race/ethnicity demographics of neighborhoods, cities, and voting precincts.

17. Issues related to minority vote dilution are especially consequential in the face of racially polarized voting. In 1986, the Supreme Court issued a ruling in *Thornburg v. Gingles* that redistricting plans cannot dilute minority voting strength by cracking their population into multiple districts, nor can they pack the population into too few districts. In this decision, the Court established specific tests to determine if a redistricting plan or electoral system violated the VRA, in particular drawing on a statistical analysis of voting patterns by race and ethnicity. The *Gingles* test concerns how minorities and whites vote, and whether they prefer the same, or different, candidates. Specifically, the Court asks if minority voters are politically cohesive (*Gingles* II); that is, if they generally tend to vote for a "candidate of choice." And next, the Court examines who the larger majority (or white) voters prefer as their candidate, and, if that candidate is different than the minority candidate of choice, whether they regularly vote as a bloc to defeat the minority candidate of choice (*Gingles* III). Courts refer to evidence of this phenomenon—voters of one racial group are voting in one direction, while voters of the other racial group are voting in the opposite direction—as "racially polarized voting."

18. Several methods are available to assess the *Gingles* preconditions of minority cohesion and white bloc voting.[8] Ecological Inference (EI) "has been the benchmark method courts use in evaluating racial polarization in voting rights lawsuits and has been used widely in comparative politics research on group and ethnic voting patterns."[9] Two variations of EI that have emerged

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[8] For an approachable overview of this material, *see* Bruce M. Clarke and Robert Timothy Reagan, "Redistricting Litigation: An Overview Of Legal, Statistical, and Case-Management Issues," *Federal Judicial Center* (2002).

[9] Loren Collingwood, Kassra Oskooii, Sergio Garcia-Rios, and Matt Barreto, "eiCompare Comparing Ecological Inference Estimates across El and EI:R x C," *The R Journal* 8, no. 2 (2016): 92–101 at 93; *see also* Marisa A. Abrajano, Christopher S. Elmendorf, and Kevin M. Quinn, "Using Experiments to Estimate Racially Polarized Voting," *UC Davis Legal Studies Research Paper Series* no. 419 (February 2015) at 1 ("ecological inference (EI) [is] the standard statistical tool of vote-dilution litigation). Despite the method's prominence, researchers have identified certain limitations on EI's ability to reveal race-correlated voting patterns in jurisdictions with more than two racial groups and non-trivial residential integration. *See* D. James Greiner, "Re-Solidifying Racial Bloc Voting: Empirics and Legal Doctrine in the Melting Pot," *Indiana Law Journal* 86, no. 2 (Spring 2011): 447–498; D. James Greiner and Kevin M Quinn, "Exit Polling and Racial Bloc Voting: Combining Individual Level and R x C Ecological Data," The Annals of Applied Statistics 4, no. 4 (2010): 1774–1796. Strategic calculations by potential candidates as well as interest groups and donors also skew EI data. Christopher S. Elmendorf, Kevin M. Quinn, and Marisa A. Abrajano, "Racially Polarized Voting," *The University of Chicago Law Review* 83, no. 2 (Spring 2016): 587–692; D. James Greiner, "Causal Inference in Civil Rights Litigation," Harvard Law Review 122, no. 2 (December 2008): 533–598 at 533.

are referred to as King's EI and EI: RxC. The two methods are closely related, and Professor Gary King, the creator of King's EI,[10] was a co-author and collaborator on the RxC method.[11] Generally speaking, both methods take ecological data in the aggregate—such as precinct vote totals and racial demographics—and use Bayesian statistical methods to find voting patterns by regressing candidate choice against racial demographics within the aggregate precinct. King's EI is sometimes referred to as the iterative approach, in that it runs an analysis of each candidate and each racial group in iterations, whereas the RxC method allows multiple rows (candidates) and multiple columns (racial groups) to be estimated simultaneously in one model. In essence, both versions of EI operate as described above: by compiling data on the percentage of each racial group in a precinct and merging that with precinct-level vote choice from relevant election results.

19. One popular software program that has been relied on by federal courts[12] is *eiCompare*, which imports data, runs both King's EI and RxC models, and offers comparison diagnostics.[13] Collingwood, et al. have concluded that both EI and RxC produce similarly reliable regression estimates of vote choice. The EI models are agnostic on what type of input data political scientists use for racial demographics. It can be Voting Age Population (VAP) or Citizen Voting Age Population (CVAP) data from the U.S. Census, or it can be a BISG estimate of race of the voter file.[14] When voters self-report race on the voter file, as is the case in North Carolina, this data is typically preferred because it allows the analyst to use the most precise race data about voting precincts. If the analyst is well-trained and uses the software properly, the models will perform the same statistical analysis and produce reliable estimates about voter preference by race.

20. To conduct an analysis for North Carolina, we relied on official election results and voter file data obtained from the North Carolina State Board of Elections. For each election, we used the voter file with vote history which contains voters' self-reported race or ethnicity to create percentages of voter race/ethnicity consolidated to each voting precinct in North Carolina. This information was merged with precinct level election results, to be used in an ecological inference (EI) analysis.

21. We used the software package eiCompare to run racially polarized voting analysis.[15] Full replication instructions are publicly available at the eiCompare portal, which explain the

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[10] *See* Gary King, *A Solution to the Ecological Inference Problem: Reconstructing Individual Behavior from Aggregate Data*. (Princeton University Press, 1997).

[11] *See* Ori Rosen, Wenxin Jiang, Gary King, and Martin A. Tanner, "Bayesian and Frequentist Inference for Ecological Inference: The R x C Case," *Statistica Neerlandica* 55, no. 2 (2001): 134–156 at 134-146.

[12] Decision and Order, ECF No. 568 at ¶ 22, *NAACP v. E. Ramapo Cent. Sch. Dist.*, No. 17-CV-8943-CS-JCM (S.D.N.Y. May 25, 2020); *see also* Memorandum and Opinion, ECF No. 80 at 8–9, Baltimore County NAACP v. Baltimore County, MD et al., No. 1:21-cv-03232-LKG (D. Md. March 25, 2022).

[13] Collingwood et al., "eiCompare," 94.

[14] The full R script (code) with examples is available at the public repository: https://github.com/RPVote/eiCompare and includes instructions on how to run EI compare.

[15] RPVote. "RPVOTE/eiCompare: Comparing Ecological Inference Techniques." GitHub. https://github.com/RPVote/eiCompare.

procedure in-depth with tutorials and sample R script. The software package eiCompare has been used by numerous experts in preparing racially polarized voting analysis for state and federal courts, and federal district and circuit courts have relied on eiCompare as accurate and reliable for producing vote choice estimates by race.

A. RPV Results

22. Across all 31 recent North Carolina elections we analyzed for this report, there is a clear, consistent, and statistically significant finding of racially polarized voting in North Carolina statewide as well as within the Northeast region in particular. Time and again, Black voters are cohesive and vote for candidates of choice by roughly a 9-to-1 margin or greater, in contrast to white voters who usually vote as a bloc against Black candidates of choice. Indeed, these voting patterns have been widely reported by other national organizations, including the Harvard Law School Election Law Clinic,[16] which provided a voting analysis in North Carolina and concluded statistically significant racially polarized voting exists statewide as well as in the Northeast region. Beyond this, the Southern Coalition for Social Justice (SCSJ) submitted an analysis to the North Carolina state legislature[17] in October 2023 in which Dr. Kassra Oskooii, a recognized expert on RPV analysis, "identified definitive evidence of RPV patterns." The data presented in this report are consistent with those prior analyses.

23. In the more than 350 ecological inference statistical models performed for this report, based on well-established social science published methodology, I conclude that, across the 31 recent elections in 2020 and 2022, elections in North Carolina statewide and the Northeast region are clearly defined by racially polarized voting (*see* Appendix A for tables of racially polarized voting results).

24. In elections across North Carolina, and specifically within the Northeast region[18], ecological inference models point to a clear pattern of racially polarized voting that satisfies both *Gingles* II, minority cohesion, and *Gingles* III, white bloc voting. In elections analyzed, Black voters demonstrate unified and cohesive voting, siding for the same candidates of choice with clear support in the 95% range. In contrast, white voters strongly bloc vote against Black candidates of choice. White bloc voting is consistent across all 31 elections with rates as high as 85% opposition to minority-preferred candidates in some instances. White voters demonstrate considerable bloc voting against Black candidates of choice, regularly voting in the exact

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[16] Harvard Law School Election Law Clinic. "Ecological inference estimates – North Carolina 2020." RPV Near Me. https://www.rpvnearme.org/analyses/NC_2020.html

[17] Southern Coalition for Social Justice. October 22, 2023. Letter to Senator Phil Berger, President Pro Tempore, North Carolina Senate. "Racially Polarized Voting in North Carolina and its Effect on the 2023 Redistricting Plans" https://southerncoalition.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/10/NCGA-VRA-Senate-Ltr-10.22.23-FINAL.pdf

[18] **Northeast-1** = Bertie, Chowan, Gates, Halifax, Hertford, Martin, Northampton, Pasquotank, Perquimans, Warren, Washington, Vance counties; **Northeast-2** = Bertie, Chowan, Gates, Halifax, Hertford, Martin, Northampton, Pasquotank, Perquimans, Warren, Washington, Vance AND Pitt and Edgecombe counties; The fourth column of results represents only Pitt and Edgecombe counties.

opposite pattern of Black voters in North Carolina. Taken as a whole, the full set of elections analyzed easily clear the political science threshold for the existence of racially polarized voting that is consistent with what I have observed in the more than 50 jurisdictions I have analyzed in my career.

25. The summary results of the ecological inference analysis found in Appendix A report both types of EI analysis, King's EI and EI RxC. For each type of analysis, we report candidate support estimates for white voters and Black voters. Looking at nearly every one of the 31 elections reported in Appendix A, Tables 1-2 reveals clear evidence of racially polarized voting.

26. Starting with elections most closely resembling endogenous elections, those for State House and State Senate, the EI models report that 98-99% of Black voters are cohesive in voting for their candidates of choice in 2020 (Table A1) and 98-99% of Black voters are similarly cohesive in voting for their candidates of choice in 2022 (Table A1). In contrast, white voters bloc vote *against* Black candidates of choice, siding with the opposing candidate in every single election for State House and State Senate. Indeed, the EI model reports that in Northeast North Carolina between 80-88% of white voters are unified in bloc-voting against Black voter-preferred candidates.

27. Beyond these endogenous elections, extensive evidence exists in recent exogenous elections in North Carolina for statewide offices from Insurance Commissioner to State Supreme Court to Governor and many others. Across 10 statewide offices a strong and consistent pattern of racially polarized voting emerges in which 97-99% of Black voters are cohesive and unified in their support for their candidates of choice, while white voters vote in the exact opposite direction in every one of these elections.

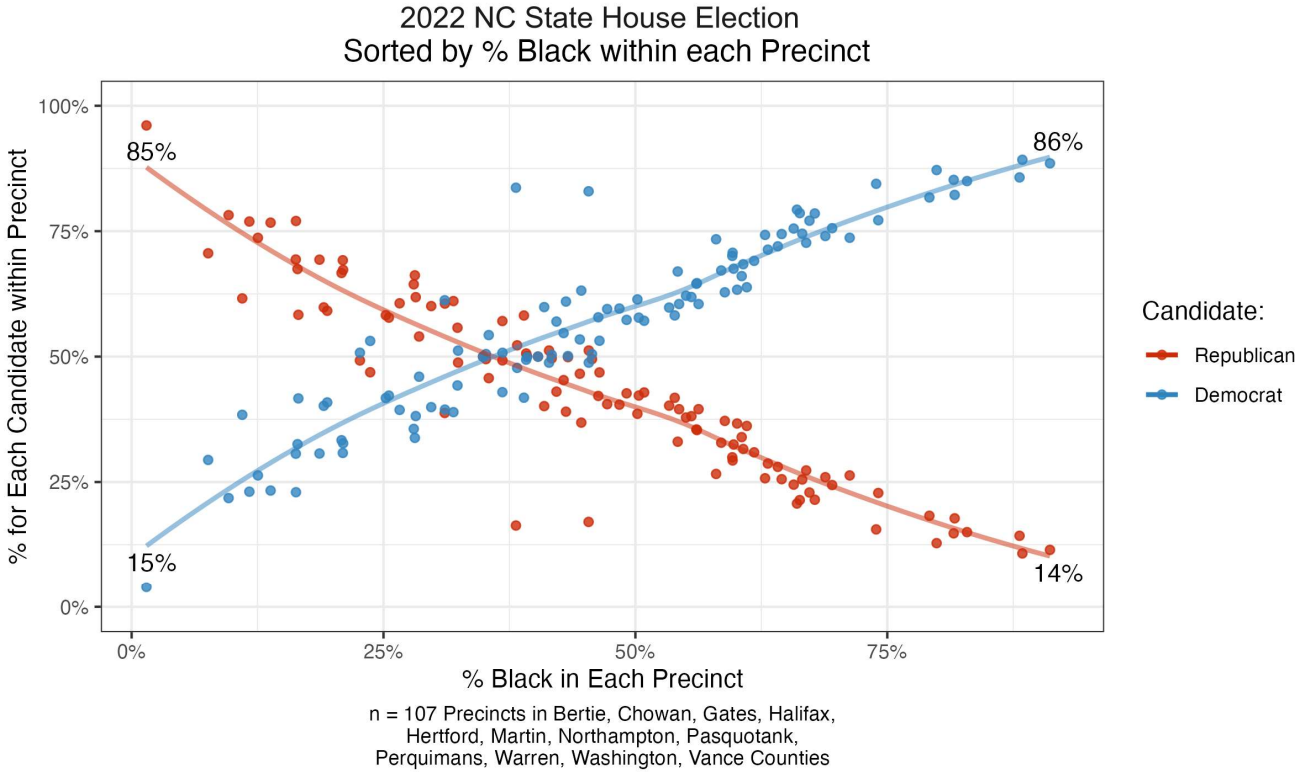
28. Looking to federal offices for elections such as U.S. Senate or President reveals the same pattern of statistically significant racially polarized voting.

29. These trends are consistent for the statewide analysis of all 2,665 voting precincts across the entirety of North Carolina, as well as for specific analysis confined to the 191 voting precincts in Northeastern North Carolina. Tables A1 and A2 report three additional variations of the geography. First is a 12-county region that excludes Pitt and Edgecombe counties, which combine to make up Senate District 5 in the 2023 enacted Senate map (see footnote 18 on page 9). Next, we include Pitt and Edgecombe with the other 12 counties for a combined 14-county region, and finally we separate out Pitt and Edgecombe alone in a 2-county region. In every single permutation of the northeast region, Black and white voters demonstrated stark racially polarized voting. Black voters are consistently cohesive while white voters bloc-vote against Black candidates of choice. Indeed, white bloc-voting against Black candidates of choice is consistently more extreme in the northeast region than in other parts of North Carolina.

30. The full EI regression results are reported in Tables A1-A2, and more than 350 additional charts detailing racially polarized voting can be found in appendices D and E. However, it is also helpful to visualize the precinct data along a simple X-Y scatterplot. We offer two examples to clearly depict the pattern of racially polarized voting in the 12-county Northeast

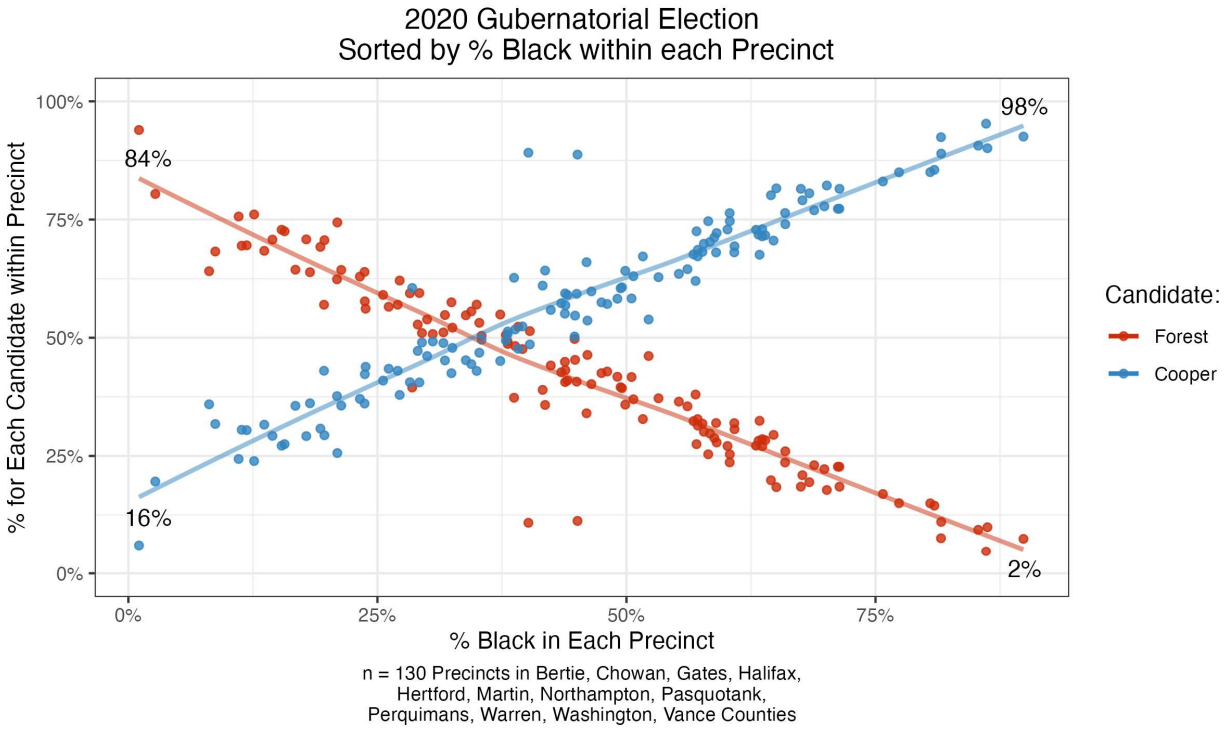
region. Figure 3 plots every single precinct in the 12-county Northeast region for the 2022 North Carolina State House of Representatives elections. Blue dots represent the percent voting Democrat and red dots represent the percent voting Republican. The horizontal X-axis reports the percentage of all voters who are Black within each precinct. Taken together, the scatterplot shows an extremely clear pattern of racially polarized voting where Black and white precincts are mirror opposites of each other in the Northeast region.

Figure 3



31. The same pattern of racially polarized voting is clear to see in the 2020 election for Governor of North Carolina in the Northeast region of the state (Figure 4). Precincts with a large share of Black voters on the right side of the graph show a very high vote for Cooper, who was the Black-preferred candidate. In contrast, as precincts become less Black, and more heavily White, the vote for Cooper falls off and the vote for Forest increases linearly. The highest density white precincts gave 80% or more of their vote to Forest in opposition to Black vote choice.

Figure 4



IV. Evaluations of Plaintiffs' Illustrative Districts

32. The Black population in the northeast region of North Carolina is large and geographically compact and can form a majority-Black State Senate district that will elect Black candidates of choice.

33. Under the newly enacted 2023 map, Black candidates of choice cannot win office in either Senate District 1 or 2, where the large Black population has been cracked between the two districts, rendering it too small to be influential.

34. Comparing the boundaries of two different illustrative districts submitted by Plaintiffs reveals that a map can be drawn which follows all traditional redistricting principles and affords Black voters the opportunity to elect a candidate of their choice. In Appendix B, Tables B1 and B2 we recompile election results from 2022 and 2020 for the two different Plaintiffs' illustrative maps as compared to the 2023 enacted map. The first column reports election results within Demonstration District A, and the next two columns report election results for Demonstration B, Districts B1 and B2. The final two columns examine the 2023 Enacted Plan, Districts 1 and 2.

35. In our analysis of the performance of the demonstration districts, we found that Plaintiffs' demonstration maps both create State Senate districts in which Black voters can elect their candidates of choice, while not disturbing the existing Black influence district in Pitt and

Edgecombe counties (District 5 in the 2023 enacted map). According to Table B1, in the 2022 election, Demonstration District A consistently performs for Black candidates of choice by a 55-45 margin. Demonstration District B1 also consistently performs for Black candidates of choice by a 53-47 margin. In stark contrast, both District 1 and District 2 in the 2023 enacted plan result in Black candidates of choice losing every single election.

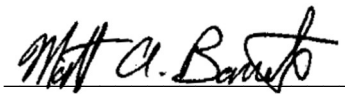
36. Looking to the 2020 election results (Table B2) reveals that Plaintiffs' Demonstration A and Demonstration B1 perform even stronger for Black candidates of choice. This is not surprising given that Black voter turnout was much higher in 2020 than in 2022. However, even in the lower turnout 2022 election, Table B1 shows that Plaintiffs' two illustrative districts both perform for Black candidates of choice. Despite higher Black turnout in the 2020 election, the 2023 enacted plan does not perform for Black candidates of choice, instead providing strong and consistent support for white candidates of choice in both Senate districts in 2020.

37. In reviewing both Demonstration Map A and Demonstration Map B it is clear that Plaintiffs have offered two versions of State Senate districts that are majority Black, and perform for Black candidates of choice. Further, both options preserve an existing Black influence district in Pitt and Edgecombe counties.

38. In preparing this report, there may have been some data that was not yet produced, or made readily available by the State of North Carolina, and as more data does become available, or new elections results are posted, I reserve the right to provide additional data and analysis of population statistics and election results to supplement this report.

39. I declare under penalty of perjury that the foregoing is true and correct to the best of my personal knowledge.

November 21, 2023



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Appendix A: Racially Polarized Voting Tables

Table A1: North Carolina Ecological Inference (EI) Candidate Choice Estimates

			Statewide		Northeast-1		Northeast-2		Pitt/Edgecombe	
Year	**Office**	**Candidate**	**White**	**Black**	**White**	**Black**	**White**	**Black**	**White**	**Black**
2022	Appeals Court # 10	Tyson	69.6	1.0	87.6	1.2	83.4	0.9	78.6	0.9
		Adams	30.4	99.1	12.4	98.7	16.7	99.0	21.5	98.7
	Appeals Court # 11	Stading	69.8	1.0	87.3	1.2	83.0	1.0	78.1	1.0
		Jackson	30.2	98.9	12.8	98.7	17.0	99.0	21.9	99.2
	Appeals Court #8	Flood	69.2	1.0	86.4	1.1	82.6	0.9	78.1	1.1
		Thompson	30.8	98.8	13.7	98.8	17.3	99.0	21.9	98.6
	Appeals Court #9	Stroud	71.7	0.8	88.7	1.1	84.6	0.9	79.8	1.0
		Salmon	28.3	99.1	11.4	98.7	15.5	98.8	19.9	98.8
	Supreme Court #3	Dietz	69.1	0.9	86.7	1.1	82.8	0.9	78.6	1.0
		Inman	30.9	99.0	13.3	98.7	17.2	98.7	21.3	99.1
	Supreme Court #5	Allen	68.7	0.9	86.1	1.5	81.9	1.2	77.2	0.4
		Ervin	31.3	99.0	13.9	98.3	18.1	98.7	22.4	98.6
	U.S. Senate	Budd	68.2	0.9	87.0	0.9	82.5	1.0	76.9	1.0
		Beasley	31.9	99.1	13.0	98.7	17.5	98.8	22.9	99.1
	NC State House	Republicans	65.9	0.8	84.1	3.2	80.4	1.3	76.9	1.0
		Democrats	34.1	99.1	16.0	98.3	19.7	98.6	23.1	99.0
	NC State Senate	Republicans	62.1	18.4	88.4	1.1	82.9	1.1	78.6	1.2
		Democrats	37.9	81.5	11.6	98.5	17.2	99.0	21.5	98.5
2020	Attorney General	O'Neill	72.6	1.0	86.2	0.9	82.8	0.9	79.2	0.9
		Stein	27.5	98.8	13.7	99.0	17.0	98.9	20.6	99.0
	Agriculture Commission	Troxler	78.2	0.9	91.6	0.9	88.1	0.9	85.7	1.1
		Wadsworth	21.9	99.1	8.3	98.8	11.2	99.0	14.3	99.0
	Appeals Court #13	Griffin	74.7	0.9	87.1	0.9	84.6	0.9	81.4	1.1
		Brook	25.4	98.9	12.7	98.9	15.3	98.9	18.6	98.6
	Appeals Court #4	Wood	75.2	0.9	88.3	0.9	85.2	1.0	82.9	1.0

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		Shields	24.7	98.2	11.3	98.9	14.2	98.9	17.2	99.3
	Appeals Court #5	Gore	74.6	0.9	87.9	0.9	85.0	1.0	81.7	1.1
		Cubbage	25.4	99.1	11.9	98.9	15.2	99.0	18.4	98.9
	Appeals Court #6	Dillon	75.6	0.9	88.4	0.9	85.3	1.0	82.5	0.8
		Styers	24.4	99.1	11.3	98.9	14.3	99.1	17.6	99.1
	Appeals Court #7	Carpenter	75.2	1.0	88.0	0.9	85.2	0.6	81.7	0.8
		Young	24.7	98.9	11.8	98.8	15.0	98.7	18.3	99.0
	Auditor	Street	71.5	0.6	82.5	0.9	78.8	0.9	73.5	0.9
		Wood	28.5	99.3	17.1	99.1	21.5	98.8	26.3	99.2
	Governor	Forest	69.6	0.5	85.0	0.9	80.7	0.8	77.9	0.8
		Cooper	30.5	99.5	15.3	98.9	18.9	98.9	22.1	99.0
	Insurance Commission	Causey	75.5	0.9	86.0	1.0	84.1	0.9	82.5	0.8
		Goodwin	24.5	98.6	13.7	98.9	15.8	99.1	17.6	99.2
	Labor Commission	Dobson	74.2	1.0	87.0	0.9	84.0	1.0	80.7	1.1
		Holmes	25.8	99.0	12.7	99.0	15.9	98.9	19.3	99.0
	Lt. Governor	Robinson	75.1	1.0	89.1	0.8	86.2	1.0	83.4	0.9
		Holley	24.9	98.9	10.7	98.9	13.7	98.9	16.6	99.2
	President	Trump	73.3	0.9	89.0	1.0	84.8	0.9	80.9	1.0
		Biden	26.7	99.0	11.0	99.0	14.8	99.1	18.7	99.1
	Sec. of State	Sykes	71.3	0.6	83.4	0.9	80.3	0.9	76.7	1.1
		Marshall	28.8	99.1	16.6	99.0	19.7	98.9	23.2	99.1
	State Superintendent	Truitt	74.8	0.9	87.7	0.9	84.3	1.0	81.4	0.0
		Mangrum	25.2	98.0	12.2	99.0	15.3	98.8	18.6	98.8
	Supreme Court #1	Newby	73.0	0.8	86.8	1.0	83.4	0.9	80.1	0.9
		Beasley	27.0	98.9	13.1	98.9	16.5	99.1	19.8	99.0
	Supreme Court #2	Berger	73.8	1.1	87.4	1.0	84.3	1.0	81.1	1.0
		Inman	26.2	98.6	12.4	98.8	15.6	98.8	18.9	99.1
	Supreme Court #4	Barringer	74.6	1.2	86.6	0.9	83.5	0.9	80.1	0.4
		Davis	25.4	98.7	13.7	98.9	16.5	98.9	19.8	98.9
	Treasurer	Folwell	76.1	0.8	88.8	0.7	85.9	0.9	81.3	1.0

		Chatterji	23.9	99.1	10.6	98.6	14.2	98.8	18.7	98.6
	U.S. Senate	Tillis	73.9	1.1	87.6	0.9	84.6	1.0	81.4	1.0
		Cunningham	26.0	98.8	12.1	99.1	15.3	98.8	18.4	98.8
	NC State House	Republicans	75.2	0.9	83.9	0.9	82.8	1.0	81.5	1.1
		Democrats	24.8	99.2	16.1	98.9	17.3	98.9	18.3	98.8
	NC State Senate	Republicans	74.5	1.2	87.8	1.1	83.9	1.0	79.7	1.0
		Democrats	25.6	98.6	11.9	98.6	15.9	98.7	20.3	99.0

Northeast-1 = Bertie, Chowan, Gates, Halifax, Hertford, Martin, Northampton, Pasquotank, Perquimans, Warren, Washington, Vance counties

Northeast-2 = Bertie, Chowan, Gates, Halifax, Hertford, Martin, Northampton, Pasquotank, Perquimans, Warren, Washington, Vance AND Pitt and Edgecombe counties

Table A2: North Carolina Ecological Inference (RxC) Candidate Choice Estimates

			Statewide		Northeast-1		Northeast-2		Pitt/Edgecombe	
Year	**Office**	**Candidate**	**White**	**Black**	**White**	**Black**	**White**	**Black**	**White**	**Black**
2022	Appeals Court # 10	Tyson	69.6	2.4	87.2	2.4	82.9	2.3	75.3	3.7
		Adams	30.4	97.7	12.8	97.6	17.1	97.7	24.7	96.3
	Appeals Court # 11	Stading	69.8	2.2	86.9	2.4	82.4	2.5	74.9	4.0
		Jackson	30.2	97.8	13.1	97.6	17.5	97.5	25.1	96.0
	Appeals Court #8	Flood	69.3	2.2	85.9	2.2	81.9	2.4	74.7	4.0
		Thompson	30.7	97.8	14.1	97.8	18.1	97.6	25.3	96.0
	Appeals Court #9	Stroud	71.7	2.7	88.3	2.5	84.2	2.4	76.2	4.8
		Salmon	28.3	97.3	11.7	97.5	15.8	97.6	23.8	95.2
	Supreme Court #3	Dietz	69.1	2.4	86.1	2.4	82.4	2.6	75.4	4.2
		Inman	30.9	97.6	13.9	97.6	17.6	97.4	24.6	95.8
	Supreme Court #5	Allen	68.7	2.7	85.8	2.4	81.6	2.8	74.6	4.8
		Ervin	31.3	97.3	14.2	97.7	18.4	97.2	25.4	95.2
	U.S. Senate	Budd	68.3	1.9	86.4	2.3	81.7	2.2	73.8	3.8
		Beasley	31.7	98.1	13.7	97.7	18.3	97.8	26.2	96.2
	NC State House	Republicans	65.9	2.7	83.5	2.9	79.7	3.2	73.9	3.8
		Democrats	34.1	97.3	16.5	97.1	20.3	96.8	26.1	96.2
	NC State Senate	Republicans	59.4	16.1	88.2	2.2	82.2	2.3	75.5	3.9
		Democrats	40.6	83.9	11.8	97.8	17.8	97.7	24.5	96.1
2020	Attorney General	O'Neill	72.5	2.3	85.8	2.0	82.3	2.1	76.8	2.8
		Stein	27.5	97.7	14.2	98.0	17.7	97.9	23.2	97.2
	Agriculture Commiss.	Troxler	78.4	2.5	91.7	1.8	88.5	2.0	83.0	2.7
		Wadsworth	21.6	97.5	8.3	98.2	11.5	98.0	17.0	97.3
	Appeals Court #13	Griffin	74.8	2.1	87.1	1.9	84.1	1.8	78.9	3.3
		Brook	25.2	97.9	13.0	98.1	15.9	98.2	21.1	96.7
	Appeals Court #4	Wood	75.3	2.6	88.1	2.0	85.3	1.9	79.0	3.5
		Shields	24.7	97.4	11.9	98.0	14.7	98.1	21.0	96.5

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Appeals Court #5	Gore	74.8	2.3	87.8	1.9	84.4	2.0	79.1	2.6
	Cubbage	25.2	97.7	12.2	98.1	15.6	98.0	20.9	97.4
Appeals Court #6	Dillon	75.7	2.4	88.3	2.1	85.7	1.9	79.8	2.5
	Styers	24.3	97.6	11.7	97.9	14.3	98.1	20.2	97.5
Appeals Court #7	Carpenter	75.3	2.2	87.8	1.9	84.7	2.0	78.8	3.4
	Young	24.7	97.8	12.2	98.1	15.3	98.0	21.2	96.6
Auditor	Street	71.6	2.1	82.0	2.0	77.5	2.1	70.0	3.5
	Wood	28.4	97.9	18.0	98.0	22.5	97.9	30.0	96.5
Governor	Forest	69.8	1.8	84.4	1.8	80.8	2.0	74.5	3.3
	Cooper	30.2	98.2	15.6	98.2	19.2	98.0	25.5	96.7
Insurance Commiss.	Causey	75.6	2.1	85.8	1.9	83.8	2.0	79.3	3.2
	Goodwin	24.3	97.9	14.2	98.1	16.2	98.0	20.7	96.8
Labor Commiss.	Dobson	74.4	2.0	87.0	1.9	83.4	1.8	77.3	3.3
	Holmes	25.6	98.0	13.1	98.1	16.6	98.2	22.7	96.7
Lt. Governor	Robinson	75.2	2.2	89.2	1.9	86.0	2.2	80.5	3.4
	Holley	24.8	97.8	10.8	98.1	14.0	97.8	19.5	96.7
President	Trump	73.6	2.2	88.9	2.1	85.0	2.1	78.4	3.3
	Biden	26.4	97.8	11.1	97.9	15.0	97.9	21.6	96.7
Sec. of State	Sykes	71.4	1.9	82.2	2.0	79.4	2.0	73.4	3.3
	Marshall	28.6	98.1	17.8	98.0	20.6	98.0	26.6	96.7
State Superintendent	Truitt	74.8	2.5	87.4	2.0	84.4	2.1	78.2	2.9
	Mangrum	25.2	97.4	12.6	98.0	15.7	97.9	21.8	97.1
Supreme Court #1	Newby	73.1	2.3	86.2	1.9	83.0	2.0	76.6	3.3
	Beasley	26.9	97.7	13.8	98.1	17.0	98.0	23.4	96.7
Supreme Court #2	Berger	73.9	2.2	87.2	1.8	84.0	2.0	78.4	2.6
	Inman	26.2	97.8	12.8	98.2	16.0	98.0	21.6	97.4
Supreme Court #4	Barringer	74.5	2.7	85.6	2.1	82.6	2.0	76.7	3.3
	Davis	25.5	97.3	14.4	97.9	17.4	98.0	23.3	96.7
Treasurer	Folwell	75.6	5.4	88.1	2.2	85.0	3.0	79.1	4.7
	Chatterji	24.3	94.6	11.9	97.8	15.0	97.0	20.8	95.3

	U.S. Senate	Tillis	74.0	1.9	87.2	2.1	84.2	1.9	78.1	3.1
		Cunningham	26.0	98.1	12.8	97.9	15.8	98.1	21.9	96.9
	NC State House	Republicans	75.2	2.7	82.2	2.4	81.8	2.1	78.9	3.0
		Democrats	24.8	97.3	17.8	97.6	18.2	97.9	21.1	97.0
	NC State Senate	Republicans	74.6	2.7	87.8	2.5	83.9	2.5	76.6	3.7
		Democrats	25.4	97.3	12.2	97.5	16.1	97.6	23.4	96.3

Northeast-1 = Bertie, Chowan, Gates, Halifax, Hertford, Martin, Northampton, Pasquotank, Perquimans, Warren, Washington, Vance counties

Northeast-2 = Bertie, Chowan, Gates, Halifax, Hertford, Martin, Northampton, Pasquotank, Perquimans, Warren, Washington, Vance AND Pitt and Edgecombe counties

Appendix B: Evaluation of Plaintiffs' Illustrative Maps

Table B1: Performance Analysis 2022 Elections

			Demonstration District A	Demonstration B District B1	Demonstration B District B2	2023 Adopted District 1	2023 Adopted District 2
	Black CVAP		53.1%	50.2%	12.6%	31.6%	31.5%
2022	Black voters		45.5%	42.1%	8.2%	23.3%	22.7%
	White voters		49.1%	52.2%	85.6%	71.2%	70.8%
	Other voters		5.3%	5.7%	6.2%	5.4%	6.5%
	U.S. Senate	Budd	44.4%	46.7%	67.6%	57.8%	59.1%
	U.S. Senate	Beasley*	55.6%	53.3%	32.4%	42.2%	40.9%
	Supreme Court #3	Dietz	44.7%	46.9%	67.9%	57.8%	59.7%
	Supreme Court #3	Inman*	55.3%	53.1%	32.1%	42.2%	40.3%
	Supreme Court #5	Allen	44.6%	46.6%	67.6%	57.6%	59.3%
	Supreme Court #5	Ervin*	55.4%	53.4%	32.4%	42.4%	40.7%
	Appeals Court #8	Flood	44.7%	46.7%	67.5%	57.5%	59.4%
	Appeals Court #8	Thompson*	55.3%	53.3%	32.5%	42.5%	40.6%
	Appeals Court #9	Stroud	45.9%	47.9%	69.2%	59.1%	60.7%
	Appeals Court #9	Salmon*	54.1%	52.1%	30.8%	40.9%	39.3%
	Appeals Court #10	Tyson	45.4%	47.4%	67.8%	57.9%	59.9%
	Appeals Court #10	Adams*	54.6%	52.6%	32.2%	42.1%	40.1%
	Appeals Court #11	Stading	45.1%	47.1%	68.1%	58.1%	59.8%
	Appeals Court #11	Jackson*	54.9%	52.9%	31.9%	41.9%	40.2%
	NC State House	Republicans	43.2%	43.8%	71.8%	50.3%	58.0%
	NC State House	Democrats*	56.8%	56.2%	28.2%	49.7%	42.0%
	NC State Senate	Republicans	44.8%	45.6%	75.3%	57.8%	45.9%
	NC State Senate	Democrats*	55.2%	54.4%	24.7%	42.2%	54.1%

* indicates Black voter-preferred candidate

Table B2: Performance Analysis 2020 Elections

			Demonstration	Demonstration B		2023 Adopted	
			District A	District B1	District B2	District 1	District 2
2020	Black voters		49.2%	45.6%	9.5%	26.1%	26.4%
	White voters		42.8%	46.2%	81.2%	65.6%	64.4%
	Other voters		8.1%	8.1%	9.3%	8.3%	9.3%
	President	Trump	41.1%	43.5%	65.9%	54.5%	56.7%
	President	Biden*	58.9%	56.5%	34.1%	45.5%	43.3%
	U.S. Senate	Tillis	39.7%	42.5%	65.9%	54.7%	55.5%
	U.S. Senate	Cunningham*	60.3%	57.5%	34.1%	45.3%	44.5%
	Governor	Forest	38.4%	41.3%	63.5%	52.5%	54.0%
	Governor	Cooper*	61.6%	58.7%	36.5%	47.5%	46.0%
	Lt. Governor	Robinson	41.0%	43.6%	66.6%	54.9%	57.0%
	Lt. Governor	Holley*	59.0%	56.4%	33.4%	45.1%	43.0%
	Attorney General	O'Neill	38.9%	41.8%	65.2%	53.9%	54.9%
	Attorney General	Stein*	61.1%	58.2%	34.8%	46.1%	45.1%
	Auditor	Street	37.7%	40.2%	63.4%	52.3%	53.0%
	Auditor	Wood*	62.3%	59.8%	36.6%	47.7%	47.0%
	Agriculture Commiss.	Troxler	42.4%	44.7%	67.7%	55.6%	58.6%
	Agriculture Commiss.	Wadsworth*	57.6%	55.3%	32.3%	44.4%	41.4%
	Insurance Commiss.	Causey	39.9%	42.0%	65.8%	53.9%	55.7%
	Insurance Commiss.	Goodwin*	60.1%	58.0%	34.2%	46.1%	44.3%
	Labor Commiss.	Dobson	39.9%	42.2%	65.2%	53.6%	55.6%
	Labor Commiss.	Holmes*	60.1%	57.8%	34.8%	46.4%	44.4%
	Sec. of State	Sykes	37.5%	40.3%	63.3%	52.2%	53.2%
	Sec. of State	Marshall*	62.5%	59.7%	36.7%	47.8%	46.8%

	State Superintendent	Truitt	40.3%	42.7%	65.9%	54.3%	56.1%
	State Superintendent	Mangrum*	59.7%	57.3%	34.1%	45.7%	43.9%
	Treasurer	Folwell	41.5%	43.9%	66.5%	55.5%	56.7%
	Treasurer	Chatterji*	58.5%	56.1%	33.5%	44.5%	43.3%
	Supreme Court #1	Newby	39.6%	42.2%	64.8%	53.5%	55.3%
	Supreme Court #1	Beasley*	60.4%	57.8%	35.2%	46.5%	44.7%
	Supreme Court #2	Berger	40.2%	42.6%	65.3%	53.8%	55.8%
	Supreme Court #2	Inman*	59.8%	57.4%	34.7%	46.2%	44.2%
	Supreme Court #4	Barringer	39.2%	41.9%	65.4%	53.7%	55.3%
	Supreme Court #4	Davis*	60.8%	58.1%	34.6%	46.3%	44.7%
	Appeals Court #4	Wood	40.6%	43.1%	66.3%	54.6%	56.5%
	Appeals Court #4	Shields*	59.4%	56.9%	33.7%	45.4%	43.5%
	Appeals Court #5	Gore	40.3%	42.7%	65.8%	54.1%	56.2%
	Appeals Court #5	Cubbage*	59.7%	57.3%	34.2%	45.9%	43.8%
	Appeals Court #6	Dillon	40.4%	43.0%	66.7%	54.8%	56.7%
	Appeals Court #6	Styers*	59.6%	57.0%	33.3%	45.2%	43.3%
	Appeals Court #7	Carpenter	40.3%	42.8%	66.3%	54.4%	56.4%
	Appeals Court #7	Young*	59.7%	57.2%	33.7%	45.6%	43.6%
	Appeals Court #13	Griffin	39.9%	42.4%	65.9%	54.0%	56.1%
	Appeals Court #13	Brook*	60.1%	57.6%	34.1%	46.0%	43.9%
	NC State House	Republicans	37.8%	40.0%	66.4%	53.1%	55.4%
	NC State House	Democrats*	62.2%	60.0%	33.6%	46.9%	44.6%
	NC State Senate	Republicans	41.5%	43.4%	64.9%	52.8%	57.1%
	NC State Senate	Democrats*	58.5%	56.6%	35.1%	47.2%	42.9%

* indicates Black voter-preferred candidate

Appendix C: Barreto CV

MATT A. BARRETO – BARRETOM@UCLA.EDU

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, LOS ANGELES, 3345 BUNCHE HALL, LOS ANGELES CA 90095 / 909.489.2955

EMPLOYMENT:

Professor, Political Science, University of California Los Angeles (2015 – present)
Professor, Chicana/o Studies, University of California Los Angeles (2015 – present)
Co-Founder & Faculty Director, Latino Policy & Politics Institute (LPPI)
Co-Founder & Faculty Director, UCLA Voting Rights Project (VRP)

Dept. Political Science, University of Washington
Professor (2014 – 2015)
Associate Professor (2009 – 2014)
Assistant Professor (2005 – 2009)
Co-Founder & Director, Washington Institute for the Study of Ethnicity and Race
Founding Director, Center for Democracy and Voting Rights, UW School of Law

Affiliated Research Centers

Latino Policy & Politics Institute (LPPI), University of California, Los Angeles

Chicano Studies Research Center (CSRC), University of California, Los Angeles

Center for the Study of Los Angeles (CSLA), Loyola Marymount University

PERSONAL:

Born: June 6, 1976
San Juan, Puerto Rico

High School: 1994, Washburn Rural HS, Topeka, KS

EDUCATION:

Ph.D., Political Science, June 2005
University of California – Irvine
Sub Fields: American Politics / Race, Ethnicity and Politics / Methodology
Thesis: Ethnic Cues: The Role of Shared Ethnicity in Latino Political Participation
Thesis Committee: Bernard Grofman (chair), Louis DeSipio, Katherine Tate, Carole Uhlaner
Thesis Awards: *Ford Foundation Dissertation Fellowship for Minorities, 04-05*
University of California President's Dissertation Fellowship, 04-05
University of California Institute for Mexico & the U.S. Dissertation Grant, 04-05

Master of Science, Social Science, March 2003
University of California – Irvine

Bachelor of Science, Political Science, May 1998
Eastern New Mexico University, Portales, NM
Minor: English. Cumulative GPA: 3.9, *Summa Cum Laude*

PUBLICATION RECORD

Google Scholar citation indices: Cites: 5,826 h-index: 37 i10-index: 68 i100-index: 14 Cites/year: 324

BOOK MANUSCRIPTS:

Barreto, Matt and Christopher Parker. nd. The Great White Hope: Donald Trump, Race, and the Crisis of American Politics. Under Contract, University of Chicago Press. *expected Fall 2024*

Barreto, Matt and Gary Segura. 2014. Latino America: How America's Most Dynamic Population is Poised to Transform the Politics of the Nation. Public Affairs Books. (Sept)

Barreto, Matt and David Leal, editors. 2018. Race, Class, and Precinct Quality in American Cities. Springer Press.

Christopher Parker and Matt Barreto. 2013. Change They Can't Believe In: The Tea Party and Reactionary Politics in America. Princeton University Press. *Winner: APSA Best Book Award for Race, Ethnicity, Politics, 2014*

Barreto, Matt. 2010. Ethnic Cues: The Role of Shared Ethnicity in Latino Political Participation. University of Michigan Press

PEER-REVIEWED ARTICLES

81. Decter-Frain, A, P Sachdeva, L Collingwood, H Murayama, J Burke, MA Barreto, S Henderson, S Wood, J Zingher. 2023. "Comparing Methods for Estimating Demographics in Racially Polarized Voting Analyses" *Sociological Methods & Research*.

80. Leslie, GJ, T Rush, J Collins, MA Barreto. 2023. "Perceived racial efficacy and voter engagement among African Americans." *Politics, Groups, and Identities.*

79. MA Barreto, M Cohen, L Collingwood, CW Dunn, S Waknin. 2022. "A Novel Method for Showing Racially Polarized Voting: Bayesian Improved Surname Geocoding" *New York University Review of Law & Social Change.*

78. MA Barreto, GR Sanchez, HL Walker. 2022. "Battling the Hydra: the disparate impact of voter ID requirements in North Dakota." *Journal of Race, Ethnicity, and Politics*, 1-22

77. M Roman, H Walker, M Barreto. 2021. "How Social Ties with Undocumented Immigrants Motivate Latinx Political Participation." *Political Research Quarterly*, 10659129211019473

76. B Gomez-Aguinaga, GR Sanchez, MA Barreto. 2021. "Importance of State and Local Variation in Black–Brown Attitudes: How Latinos View Blacks and How Blacks Affect Their Views" *Journal of Race, Ethnicity, and Politics* 6 (1), 214-252

75. H Walker, M Roman, MA Barreto. 2020. "The Ripple Effect: The Political Consequences of Proximal Contact with Immigration Enforcement" *Journal of Race, Ethnicity and Politics* 5 (3), 537-572.

74. CW Dunn, MA Barreto, M Acevedo, M Cohen, S Waknin. Legal Theories to Compel Vote-by-Mail in Federal Court" *Calif. L. Rev.* 11, 166

73. Reny, Tyler and Matt A. Barreto. 2020. "Xenophobia in the time of pandemic: othering, anti-Asian attitudes, and COVID-19 " *Politics, Groups, and Identities*. 8(2).

72. Flores, Lucy and Matt A. Barreto. 2020. "Latina Voters: The key electoral force" *Journal of Cultural Marketing Strategy*. 4(2).

71. Frasure-Yokley, Lorrie, Janelle Wong, Edward Vargas and Matt A. Barreto 2020. "THE COLLABORATIVE MULTIRACIAL POST-ELECTION SURVEY (CMPS): BUILDING THE ACADEMIC PIPELINE THROUGH DATA ACCESS, PUBLICATION, AND NETWORKING OPPORTUNITIES" *PS: Political Science & Politics.* 53(1)

70. Barreto, Matt, Loren Collingwood, Sergio Garcia-Rios and Kassra Oskooii. 2019. "Estimating Candidate Support: Comparing Iterative EI and EI-RxC Methods" *Sociological Methods and Research*. 48(4).

69. Gonzalez-OBrien, Benjamin, Matt Barreto and Gabriel Sanchez. 2019. "They're All Out to Get Me! Assessing Inter-Group Competition Among Multiple Populations." *Politics, Groups and Identities*. 7(4).

68. Oskooii, Kassra, Karam Dana and Matt Barreto. 2019. "Beyond generalized ethnocentrism: Islam-specific beliefs and prejudice toward Muslim Americans." *Politics, Groups and Identities* 7(3)

67. Vargas, Edward, Gabriel Sanchez, Barbara Gomez-Aguinaga, and Matt Barreto. 2019. "How Latinos' Perceptions of Environmental Health Threats Impact Policy Preferences." *Social Science Quarterly.* 101(1).

66. Walker, Hannah, Marcel Roman and Matt Barreto. 2019. "The Direct and Indirect Effects of Immigration Enforcement on Latino Political Engagement." *UCLA Law Review.* 67.

65. Gutierrez, Angela, Angela Ocampo, Matt Barreto, and Gary Segura. 2019. "Somos Más : How Racial Threat and Anger Mobilized Latino Voters in the Trump Era" *Political Research Quarterly.* 72(4)

64. Chouhoud, Youssef, Karam Dana, and Matt Barreto. 2019. "American Muslim Political Participation: Between Diversity and Cohesion." *Politics and Religion*. 12(S3).

63. Barreto, Matt, Stephen Nuño, Gabriel Sanchez, and Hannah Walker. 2019. "Race, Class and Barriers to Voting in the 21st Century: The Unequal Impact of Voter ID Laws." *American Politics Research*

62. Barreto, Matt. 2018. "The cycle of under-mobilization of minority voters: A comment on 'Selective recruitment of voter neglect?'" *Journal of Race, Ethnicity, and Politics.* 3(1).

61. Ocampo, Angela, Karam Dana and Matt Barreto. 2018. "The American Muslim Voter: Community Belonging and Political Participation." *Social Science Research.* 69(4).

60. Barreto, Matt, Lorrie Frasure-Yokley, Edward Vargas, Janelle Wong. 2018. "Best practices in collecting online data with Asian, Black, Latino, and White respondents: evidence from the 2016 Collaborative Multiracial Post-election Survey." *Politics, Groups & Identities.* 6(1).

59. Barreto, Matt, Tyler Reny and Bryan Wilcox-Archuleta. 2017. "A debate about survey research methodology and the Latina/o vote: why a bilingual, bicultural, Latino-centered approach matters to accurate data." *Aztlán: A Journal of Chicano Studies.* 42(2).

58. Barreto, Matt and Gary Segura. 2017. "Understanding Latino Voting Strength in 2016 and Beyond: Why Culturally Competent Research Matters." *Journal of Cultural Marketing Strategy.* 2:2

57. Dana, Karam, Bryan Wilcox-Archuleta and Matt Barreto. 2017. "The Political Incorporation of Muslims in America: The Mobilizing Role of Religiosity in Islam." *Journal of Race, Ethnicity & Politics*.

56. Collingwood, Loren, Kassra Oskooii, Sergio Garcia-Rios, and Matt Barreto. 2016. "eiCompare: Comparing Ecological Inference Estimates across EI and EI: RxC." *The R Journal*. 8:2 (Dec).

55. Garcia-Rios, Sergio I. and Matt A. Barreto. 2016. "Politicized Immigrant Identity, Spanish-Language Media, and Political Mobilization in 2012" *RSF: The Russell Sage Foundation Journal of the Social Sciences*, 2(3): 78-96.

54. Barreto, Matt, Collingwood, Loren, Christopher Parker, and Francisco Pedraza. 2015. "Racial Attitudes and Race of Interviewer Item Non-Response." *Survey Practice*. 8:3.

53. Barreto, Matt and Gary Segura 2015. "Obama y la seducción del voto Latino." *Foreign Affairs Latinoamérica*. 15:2 (Jul).

52. Barreto, Matt and Loren Collingwood 2015. "Group-based appeals and the Latino vote in 2012: How immigration became a mobilizing issue." *Electoral Studies*. 37 (Mar).

51. Collingwood, Loren, Matt Barreto and Sergio García-Rios. 2014. "Revisiting Latino Voting: Cross-Racial Mobilization in the 2012 Election" *Political Research Quarterly*. 67:4 (Sep).

50. Bergman, Elizabeth, Gary Segura and Matt Barreto. 2014. "Immigration Politics and Electoral Consequences: Anticipating the Dynamics of Latino Vote in the 2014 Election" *California Journal of Politics and Policy*. (Feb)

49. Barreto, Matt and Sergio García-Rios. 2012. "El poder del voto latino en Estados Unidos en 2012" *Foreign Affairs Latinoamérica*. 12:4 (Nov).

48. Collingwood, Loren, Matt Barreto and Todd Donovan. 2012. "Early Primaries, Viability and Changing Preferences for Presidential Candidates." *Presidential Studies Quarterly*. 42:1(Mar).

47. Barreto, Matt, Betsy Cooper, Ben Gonzalez, Chris Towler, and Christopher Parker. 2012. "The Tea Party in the Age of Obama: Mainstream Conservatism or Out-Group Anxiety?." *Political Power and Social Theory*. 22:1(Jan).

46. Dana, Karam, Matt Barreto and Kassra Oskoii. 2011. "Mosques as American Institutions: Mosque Attendance, Religiosity and Integration into the American Political System." *Religions*. 2:2 (Sept).

45. Barreto, Matt, Christian Grose and Ana Henderson. 2011. "Redistricting: Coalition Districts and the Voting Rights Act." *Warren Institute on Law and Social Policy*. (May)

44. Barreto, Matt and Stephen Nuño. 2011. "The Effectiveness of Co-Ethnic Contact on Latino Political Recruitment." *Political Research Quarterly*. 64 (June). 448-459.

43. Garcia-Castañon, Marcela, Allison Rank and Matt Barreto. 2011 "Plugged in or tuned out? Youth, Race, and Internet Usage in the 2008 Election." *Journal of Political Marketing.* 10:2 115-138.

42. Barreto, Matt, Victoria DeFrancesco, and Jennifer Merolla. 2011 "Multiple Dimensions of Mobilization: The Impact of Direct Contact and Political Ads on Latino Turnout in the 2000 Presidential Election." *Journal of Political Marketing.* 10:1

41. Barreto, Matt, Loren Collingwood, and Sylvia Manzano. 2010. "Measuring Latino Political Influence in National Elections" *Political Research Quarterly*. 63:4 (Dec)

40. Barreto, Matt, and Francisco Pedraza. 2009. "The Renewal and Persistence of Group Identification in American Politics." *Electoral Studies*. 28 (Dec) 595-605

39. Barreto, Matt and Dino Bozonelos. 2009. "Democrat, Republican, or None of the Above? Religiosity and the Partisan Identification of Muslim Americans" *Politics & Religion* 2 (Aug). 1-31

38. Barreto, Matt, Sylvia Manzano, Ricardo Ramírez and Kathy Rim. 2009. "Immigrant Social Movement Participation: Understanding Involvement in the 2006 Immigration Protest Rallies." *Urban Affairs Review*. 44: (5) 736-764

37. Grofman, Bernard and Matt Barreto. 2009. "A Reply to Zax's (2002) Critique of Grofman and Migalski (1988): Double Equation Approaches to Ecological Inferences." *Sociological Methods and Research.* 37 (May)

36. Barreto, Matt, Stephen Nuño and Gabriel Sanchez. 2009. "The Disproportionate Impact of Voter-ID Requirements on the Electorate – New Evidence from Indiana." *PS: Political Science & Politics*. 42 (Jan)

35. Barreto, Matt, Luis Fraga, Sylvia Manzano, Valerie Martinez-Ebers, and Gary Segura. 2008. "Should they dance with the one who brung 'em? Latinos and the 2008 Presidential election" *PS: Political Science & Politics.* 41 (Oct).

34. Barreto, Matt, Mara Marks and Nathan Woods. 2008. "Are All Precincts Created Equal? The Prevalence of Low- Quality Precincts in Low-Income and Minority Communities." *Political Research Quarterly.* 62

33. Barreto, Matt. 2007. "*Sí Se Puede!* Latino Candidates and the Mobilization of Latino Voters." *American Political Science Review*. 101 (August): 425-441.

32. Barreto, Matt and David Leal. 2007. "Latinos, Military Service, and Support for Bush and Kerry in 2004." *American Politics Research.* 35 (March): 224-251.

31. Barreto, Matt, Mara Marks and Nathan Woods. 2007. "Homeownership: Southern California's New Political Fault Line?" *Urban Affairs Review.* 42 (January). 315-341.

30. Barreto, Matt, Matt Streb, Fernando Guerra, and Mara Marks. 2006. "Do Absentee Voters Differ From Polling Place Voters? New Evidence From California." *Public Opinion Quarterly*. 70 (Summer): 224-34.

29. Barreto, Matt, Fernando Guerra, Mara Marks, Stephen Nuño, and Nathan Woods. 2006. "Controversies in Exit Polling: Implementing a racially stratified homogenous precinct approach." *PS: Political Science & Politics.* 39 (July) 477-83.

28. Barreto, Matt, Ricardo Ramírez, and Nathan Woods. 2005. "Are Naturalized Voters Driving the California Latino Electorate? Measuring the Impact of IRCA Citizens on Latino Voting." *Social Science Quarterly.* 86 (December): 792-811.

27. Barreto, Matt. 2005. "Latino Immigrants at the Polls: Foreign-born Voter Turnout in the 2002 Election." *Political Research Quarterly.* 58 (March): 79-86.

26. Barreto, Matt, Mario Villarreal and Nathan Woods. 2005. "Metropolitan Latino Political Behavior: Turnout and Candidate Preference in Los Angeles." *Journal of Urban Affairs*. 27(February): 71-91.

25. Leal, David, Matt Barreto, Jongho Lee and Rodolfo de la Garza. 2005. "The Latino Vote in the 2004 Election." *PS: Political Science & Politics.* 38 (January): 41-49.

24. Marks, Mara, Matt Barreto and Nathan Woods. 2004. "Harmony and Bliss in LA? Race and Racial Attitudes a Decade After the 1992 Riots." *Urban Affairs Review.* 40 (September): 3-18.

23. Barreto, Matt, Gary Segura and Nathan Woods. 2004. "The Effects of Overlapping Majority-Minority Districts on Latino Turnout." *American Political Science Review.* 98 (February): 65-75.

22. Barreto, Matt and Ricardo Ramírez. 2004. "Minority Participation and the California Recall: Latino, Black, and Asian Voting Trends 1990 – 2003." *PS: Political Science & Politics.* 37 (January): 11-14.

21. Barreto, Matt and José Muñoz. 2003. "Reexamining the 'politics of in-between': political participation among Mexican immigrants in the United States." *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*. 25 (November): 427-447.

20. Barreto, Matt. 2003. "National Origin (Mis)Identification Among Latinos in the 2000 Census: The Growth of the "Other Hispanic or Latino" Category." *Harvard Journal of Hispanic Policy.* 15 (June): 39-63.

Edited Volume Book Chapters

19. Barreto, Matt and Gary Segura. 2020. "Latino Reaction and Resistance to Trump: Lessons learned from Pete Wilson and 1994." In Raul Hinojosa and Edward Telles (eds.) Equitable Globalization: Expanding Bridges, Overcoming Walls. Oakland: University of California Press.

18. Barreto, Matt, Albert Morales and Gary Segura. 2019. "The Brown Tide and the Blue Wave in 2018" In Larry Sabato, Kyle Kondik, Geoffrey Skelley (eds.) The Blue Wave. New York: Rowman & Littlefield.

17. Gutierrez, Angela, Angela Ocampo and Matt Barreto. 2018. "Obama's Latino Legacy: From Unknown to Never Forgotten" In Andrew Rudalevige and Bert Rockman (eds.) The Obama Legacy. Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas Press.

16. Barreto, Matt, Thomas Schaller and Gary Segura. 2017. "Latinos and the 2016 Election: How Trump Lost Latinos on Day 1" In Larry Sabato, Kyle Kondik, Geoffrey Skelley (eds.) Trumped: The 2016 Election that Broke All the Rules. New York: Rowman & Littlefield.

15. Walker, Hannah, Gabriel Sanchez, Stephen Nuño, Matt Barreto 2017. "Race and the Right to Vote: The Modern Barrier of Voter ID Laws" In Todd Donovan (ed.) Election Rules and Reforms. New York: Rowman & Littlefield.

14. Barreto, Matt and Christopher Parker. 2015. "Public Opinion and Reactionary Movements: From the Klan to the Tea Party" In Adam Berinsky (ed.) New Directions in Public Opinion. 2nd edition. New York: Routledge Press.

13. Barreto, Matt and Gabriel Sanchez. 2014. "A 'Southern Exception' in Black-Latino Attitudes?." In Anthony Affigne, Evelyn Hu-Dehart, Marion Orr (eds.) Latino Politics en Ciencia Política. New York: New York University Press.

12. Barreto, Matt, Ben Gonzalez, and Gabriel Sanchez. 2014. "Rainbow Coalition in the Golden State? Exposing Myths, Uncovering New Realities in Latino Attitudes Towards Blacks." In Josh Kun and Laura Pulido (eds.) Black and Brown in Los Angeles: Beyond Conflict and Coalition. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

11. Barreto, Matt, Loren Collingwood, Ben Gonzalez, and Christopher Parker. 2011. "Tea Party Politics in a Blue State: Dino Rossi and the 2010 Washington Senate Election" In William Miller and Jeremy Walling (eds.) Stuck in the Middle to Lose: Tea Party Effects on 2010 U.S. Senate Elections. Rowman & Littlefield Publishing Group.

10. Jason Morin, Gabriel Sanchez and Matt Barreto. 2011. "Perceptions of Competition Between Latinos and Blacks: The Development of a Relative Measure of Inter-Group Competition." In Edward Telles, Gaspar Rivera-Salgado and Mark Sawyer (eds.) Just Neighbors? Research on African American and Latino Relations in the US. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

9. Grofman, Bernard, Frank Wayman and Matt Barreto. 2009. "Rethinking partisanship: Some thoughts on a unified theory." In John Bartle and Paolo Bellucci (eds.) Political Parties and Partisanship: Social identity and individual attitudes. New York: Routledge Press.

8. Barreto, Matt, Ricardo Ramírez, Luis Fraga and Fernando Guerra. 2009. "Why California Matters: How California Latinos Influence the Presidential Election." In Rodolfo de la Garza, Louis DeSipio and David Leal (eds.) Beyond the Barrio: Latinos in the 2004 Elections. South Bend, ID: University of Notre Dame Press.

7. Francisco Pedraza and Matt Barreto. 2008. "Exit Polls and Ethnic Diversity: How to Improve Estimates and Reduce Bias Among Minority Voters." In Wendy Alvey and Fritz Scheuren (eds.) Elections and Exit Polling. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley and Sons.

6. Adrian Pantoja, Matt Barreto and Richard Anderson. 2008. "Politics *y la Iglesia*: Attitudes Toward the Role of Religion in Politics Among Latino Catholics" In Michael Genovese, Kristin Hayer and Mark J. Rozell (eds.) Catholics and Politics. Washington, D.C: Georgetown University Press..

5. Barreto, Matt. 2007. "The Role of Latino Candidates in Mobilizing Latino Voters: Revisiting Latino Vote Choice." In Rodolfo Espino, David Leal and Kenneth Meier (eds.) Latino Politics: Identity, Mobilization, and Representation. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press.

4. Abosch, Yishaiya, Matt Barreto and Nathan Woods. 2007. "An Assessment of Racially Polarized Voting For and Against Latinos Candidates in California." In Ana Henderson (ed.) Voting Rights Act Reauthorization of 2006: Perspectives on Democracy, Participation, and Power:. Berkeley, CA: UC Berkeley Public Policy Press.

3. Barreto, Matt and Ricardo Ramírez. 2005. "The Race Card and California Politics: Minority Voters and Racial Cues in the 2003 Recall Election." In Shaun Bowler and Bruce Cain (eds.) Clicker Politics: Essays on the California Recall. Englewood-Cliffs: Prentice-Hall.

2. Barreto, Matt and Nathan Woods. 2005. "The Anti-Latino Political Context and its Impact on GOP Detachment and Increasing Latino Voter Turnout in Los Angeles County." In Gary Segura and Shawn Bowler (eds.) Diversity in Democracy: Minority Representation in the United States. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press.

1. Pachon, Harry, Matt Barreto and Frances Marquez. 2004. "Latino Politics Comes of Age in the Golden State." In Rodolfo de la Garza and Louis DeSipio (eds.) Muted Voices: Latino Politics in the 2000 Election. New York: Rowman & Littlefield

RESEARCH AWARDS AND FELLOWSHIPS

June 2020	WK Kellogg Foundation UCLA Latino Policy & Politics Initiative [With Sonja Diaz]	*$2,500,000 – 24 months*
June 2020	Casey Family Foundation UCLA Latino Policy & Politics Initiative [With Sonja Diaz]	*$900,000 – 18 months*
Aug 2018	Provost Initiative for Voting Rights Research UCLA Latino Policy & Politics Initiative [With Chad Dunn]	*$90,000 – 24 months*
April 2018	Democracy Fund & Wellspring Philanthropic UCLA Latino Policy & Politics Initiative [With Sonja Diaz]	*$200,000 – 18 months*
March 2018	AltaMed California UCLA Latino Policy & Politics Initiative [With Sonja Diaz]	*$250,000 – 12 months*
Dec 2017	California Community Foundation UCLA Latino Policy & Politics Initiative [With Sonja Diaz]	*$100,000 – 12 months*
July 2013	Ford Foundation UW Center for Democracy and Voting Rights	*$200,000 – 12 months*
April 2012	American Values Institute [With Ben Gonzalez] Racial Narratives and Public Response to Racialized Moments	*$40,000 – 3 months*
Jan 2012	American Civil Liberties Union Foundation [With Gabriel Sanchez] Voter Identification Laws in Wisconsin	*$60,000 – 6 months*
June 2011	State of California Citizens Redistricting Commission An Analysis of Racial Bloc Voting in California Elections	*$60,000 – 3 months*
Apr 2011	Social Science Research Council (SSRC) [With Karam Dana] Muslim and American? A national conference on the political and social incorporation of American Muslims	*$50,000 – 18 months*
Jan 2011	impreMedia [With Gary Segura] Latino public opinion tracking poll of voter attitudes in 2011	*$30,000 – 6 months*
Oct 2010	National Council of La Raza (NCLR) [With Gary Segura] Measuring Latino Influence in the 2010 Elections	*$128,000 – 6 months*
Oct 2010	We Are America Alliance (WAAA) [With Gary Segura] Latino and Asian American Immigrant Community Voter Study	*$79,000 – 3 months*
May 2010	National Council of La Raza (NCLR) [With Gary Segura] A Study of Latino Views Towards Arizona SB1070	*$25,000 – 3 months*
Apr 2010	Social Science Research Council (SSRC) [With Karam Dana] Muslim and American? The influence of religiosity in Muslim political incorporation	*$50,000 – 18 months*
Oct 2009	American Association of Retired Persons (AARP) [With Gary Segura] Health care reform and Latino public opinion	*$25,000 – 3 months*
Nov 2008	impreMedia & National Association of Latino Elected Officials (NALEO) [With Gary Segura] 2008 National Latino Post-Election Survey, Presidential Election	*$46,000 – 3 months*

RESEARCH GRANTS AND FELLOWSHIPS CONTINUED…

July 2008	National Association of Latino Elected Officials (NALEO) [With Gary Segura] Latino voter outreach survey – an evaluation of Obama and McCain	*$72,000 – 3 months*
June 2008	The Pew Charitable Trusts, Make Voting Work Project [with Karin MacDonald and Bonnie Glaser] Evaluating Online Voter Registration (OVR) Systems in Arizona and Washington	*$220,000 – 10 months*
April 2008	National Association of Latino Elected Officials (NALEO) & National Council of La Raza (NCLR), 2008 Latino voter messaging survey	*$95,000 – 6 months*
Dec. 2007	Research Royalty Fund, University of Washington 2008 Latino national post-election survey	*$39,000 – 12 months*
Oct. 2007	Brenan Center for Justice, New York University [with Stephen Nuño and Gabriel Sanchez] Indiana Voter Identification Study	*$40,000 – 6 months*
June 2007	National Science Foundation, Political Science Division [with Gary Segura] American National Election Study – Spanish translation and Latino oversample	*$750,000 – 24 months*
Oct. 2006	University of Washington, Vice Provost for Undergraduate Education Absentee voter study during the November 2006 election in King County, WA	*$12,000 – 6 months*
Mar. 2006	Latino Policy Coalition Public Opinion Research Grant [with Gary Segura] Awarded to the Washington Institute for the Study of Ethnicity and Race	*$40,000 – 18 months*
2005 – 2006	University of Washington, Institute for Ethnic Studies, Research Grant	*$8,000 – 12 months*
Mar. 2005	Thomas and Dorothy Leavey Foundation Grant [with Fernando Guerra] Conduct Exit Poll during Los Angeles Mayoral Election, Mar. 8 & May 17, 2005 Awarded to the Center for the Study of Los Angeles	*$30,000 – 6 months*
2004 – 2005	Ford Foundation Dissertation Fellowship for Minorities	*$21,000 – 12 months*
2004 – 2005	University of California President's Dissertation Fellowship	*$14,700 – 9 months*
2004 – 2005	University of California Mexico-US (UC MEXUS) Dissertation Grant	*$12,000 – 9 months*
Apr – 2004	UC Regents pre-dissertation fellowship, University of California, Irvine,	*$4,700 – 3 months*
2003 – 2004	Thomas and Dorothy Leavey Foundation Grant [with Fernando Guerra] Awarded to the Center for the Study of Los Angeles	*$20,000 – 12 months*
2002 – 2003	Ford Foundation Grant on Institutional Inequality [with Harry Pachon] Conducted longitudinal study of Prop 209 on Latino and Black college admittance Awarded to Tomás Rivera Policy Institute	*$150,000 – 12 months*
2002 – 2003	Haynes Foundation Grant on Economic Development [with Louis Tornatzky] Knowledge Economy in the Inland Empire region of Southern California Awarded to Tomás Rivera Policy Institute	*$150,000 – 18 months*
2001 – 2002	William F Podlich Graduate Fellowship, Center for the Study of Democracy, University of California, Irvine	*$24,000 – 9 months*

RESEARCH UNDER REVIEW/WORKING PAPERS:

Barreto, Matt, and Christopher Parker. The Great White Hope: Donald Trump, Race, and the Crisis of American Politics. Under Contract, University of Chicago Press, *expected 2020*

Barreto, Matt and Christopher Parker. "The Great White Hope: Existential Threat and Demographic Anxiety in the Age of Trump." Revise and Resubmit.

Barreto, Matt, Natalie Masuoka, Gabe Sanchez and Stephen El-Khatib. "Religiosity, Discrimination and Group Identity Among Muslim Americans" Revise and Resubmit

Barreto, Matt, Gabe Sanchez and Barbara Gomez. "Latinos, Blacks, and Black Latinos: Competition, Cooperation, or Indifference?" Revise and Resubmit

Walker, Hannah, Matt Barreto, Stephen Nuño, and Gabriel Sanchez. "A comprehensive review of access to valid photo ID and the right to vote in America" [Under review]

Gutierrez, Angela, Angela Ocampo, Matt Barreto and Gary Segura. "From Proposition 187 to Donald Trump: New Evidence that Anti-Immigrant Threat Mobilizes Latino Voters." [Under Review]

Oskooii, Kassra, Matt Barreto, and Karam Dana. "No Sharia, No Mosque: Orientalist Notions of Islam and Intolerance Toward Muslims in the United States" [Under Review]

EXPERT REPORTS:

- North Carolina 2023, State Senate redistricting, *Democracy Project II.*
- Dodge City, Kansas 2022-23, city redistricting, *Coca et al. vs. Dodge City, KS.*
- Florida 2022-23, Statewide redistricting, *Common Cause et al. vs. Byrd*
- Galveston County, Texas 2022-23, county redistricting, *Petteway et al. v. Galveston County, TX.*
- Benton, Chelan, Yakima counties signature rejection, 2022-23, *Reyes et al. v. Chilton et al.*
- San Juan County, New Mexico 2022-23, county redistricting, *Navajo Nation v. San Juan County, NM*
- Texas Statewide redistricting, 2022, *LULAC v. Abbott* (on behalf of Mexican American Legislative Caucus)
- Franklin County, WA, 2021-22, county redistricting, rebuttal expert for Plaintiffs, *Portugal et al. vs. Franklin County*
- Texas Statewide redistricting, 2021-22, *Brooks v. Abbott* Senate District 10 (Tarrant County)
- Baltimore County Council, 2021-22, *NAACP v. Baltimore County*, (on behalf of NAACP and ACLU-MD)
- Maryland Office of Attorney General, 2021-22, racially polarized voting analysis as part of statewide redistricting
- Pennsylvania House Democrats, 2021-22, racially polarized voting analysis as part of statewide redistricting
- Washington State Senate Democrats, 2021-22, racially polarized voting analysis as part of statewide redistricting
- City of San Jose, 2021, racially polarized voting analysis as part of city redistricting
- Santa Clara County, 2021, racially polarized voting analysis as part of county redistricting
- Pennsylvania, 2020, Boockvar v. Trump, Expert for Intervenors, (Perkins Coie) related to voter intimidation
- Missouri, 2020, Missouri NAACP vs. State of Missouri, Expert for plaintiffs related to vote by mail
- Georgia, 2020, Black Voters Matter vs. Raffesnsperger, Expert for plaintiffs related to vote by mail
- New York, 2019, Expert for NYAG New York v. U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement 1:19-cv-08876
- North Carolina, 2019, Expert for Plaintiffs in North Carolina voter ID lawsuit, NAACP v. Cooper
- East Ramapo CSD, 2019, Expert for Plaintiffs in Section 2 VRA lawsuit, assessed polarized voting
- New York, 2018, Expert for Plaintiffs in Census Citizenship Lawsuit, New York v. U.S. Dept of Commerce (also an expert related cases: *California v. Ross* and *Kravitz v. Dept of Commerce*)
- Dallas County, TX, 2017, Expert for Defense in Section 2 VRA lawsuit, Harding v. Dallas County
- Kansas, 2016, Expert for Plaintiffs in Kansas voter registration lawsuit, Fish v. Kobach 2:16-cv-02105-JAR
- North Dakota, 2015, Expert for Plaintiffs in North Dakota voter ID lawsuit, Brakebill v. Jaeger 1:16-cv-00008-CSM
- Alabama, 2015, Expert for Plaintiffs in Alabama voter ID lawsuit, Birmingham Ministries v. State of Alabama 2:15-cv-02193-LSC
- Texas, 2014, Testifying Expert for Plaintiffs in Texas voter ID lawsuit, Veasey v. Perry 2:13-cv-00193
- Galveston County, TX Redistricting, 2013, Expert report for Dunn & Brazil, LLC, Demographic analysis, vote dilution analysis, and racially polarized voting analysis for Section 2 lawsuit Galveston County JP/Constable districting
- Pasadena, TX Redistricting, 2013, Expert report for Dunn & Brazil, LLC, Demographic analysis, voter registration analysis, and racially polarized voting analysis for Section 2 lawsuit within Pasadena School District
- Harris County, TX Redistricting, 2011, Testifying Expert for Dunn & Brazil, LLC, Demographic analysis, voter registration analysis, and racially polarized voting analysis for Section 2 lawsuit within Harris County

- Pennsylvania, 2012, Testifying Expert for ACLU Foundation of Pennsylvania in voter ID lawsuit, Applewhite v. Commonwealth of Pennsylvania No. 330 MD 2012
- Milwaukee County, WI, 2012, Testifying Expert for ACLU Foundation of Wisconsin in voter ID lawsuit, Frank v. Walker 2:11-cv-01128(LA)
- Orange County, FL, 2012, Consulting Expert for Latino Justice/PRLDEF, Racially polarized voting analysis in Orange County, Florida
- Anaheim, CA, 2012, Consulting Expert for Goldstein, Demchak & Baller Legal, Racially polarized voting analysis for CVRA redistricting case Anaheim, CA
- Los Angeles County, CA, 2011, Consulting Expert for Goldstein, Demchak & Baller Legal, Racially polarized voting analysis for three redistricting cases in L.A.: Cerritos Community College Board; ABC Unified Schools; City of West Covina
- Harris County, TX Redistricting, 2011, Consulting Expert for Dunn & Brazil, LLC, Demographic analysis, voter registration analysis, for Section 5 objection within Harris County
- Monterey County, CA Redistricting, 2011, Consulting Expert for City of Salinas, Demographic analysis, creation of alternative maps, and racially polarized Voting analysis within Monterey County
- Los Angeles County Redistricting Commission, 2011, Consulting Expert for Supervisor Gloria Molina, Racially Polarized voting analysis within L.A. County
- State of California, Citizens Redistricting Commission, 2011, Consulting Expert, Racially Polarized Voting analysis throughout state of California
- Asian Pacific American Legal Center, 2011, Racially Polarized Voting analysis of Asian American candidates in Los Angeles for APALC redistricting brief
- Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights and Arnold & Porter, LLP, 2010-12, Racially Polarized Voting analysis of Latino and Asian candidates in San Mateo County, concerning San Mateo County Board of Supervisors
- ACLU of Washington, 2010-11, preliminary analysis of Latino population patterns in Yakima, Washington, to assess ability to draw majority Latino council districts
- State of Washington, 2010-11, provided expert analysis and research for *State of Washington v. MacLean* in case regarding election misconduct and voting patterns
- Los Angeles County Chicano Employees Association, 2008-10, Racially Polarized Voting analysis of Latino candidates in L.A. County for VRA case, concerning L.A. County Board of Supervisors redistricting (6 reports issued 08-10)
- Brennan Center for Justice and Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver & Jacobson LLP, 2009-10 Amicus Brief submitted to Indiana Supreme Court, *League of Women Voters v. Rokita*, regarding access to voter identification among minority and lower resource citizens
- State of New Mexico, consulting expert for state in *AAPD v. New Mexico*, 2008,
- District of Columbia Public Schools (DCPS), statistical consultant for survey methodology of opinion survey of parents in DCPS district (for pending suit), 2008,
- Brennan Center for Justice, 2007-08, Amicus Brief submitted to U.S. Supreme Court, and cited in Supreme Court decision, *Crawford v. Marion County*, regarding access to voter identification among minority and lower-resource citizens
- Los Angeles County Chicano Employees Association, 2002-07, Racially Polarized Voting analysis of Latino candidates in L.A. County for VRA case, concerning L.A. County Board of Supervisors redistricting (12 + reports issued during 5 years)
- Monterrey County School Board, 2007, demographic and population analysis for VRA case
- Sweetwater Union School District, 2007-08, Racially Polarized Voting analysis, and demographic and population analysis for VRA case
- Mexican American Legal Defense Fund, 2007-08, Racially Polarized Voting analysis for Latino candidates, for City of Whittier city council races, for VRA case

- ACLU of Washington, 2008, preliminary analysis of voting patterns in Eastern Washington, related to electability of Latino candidates
- Nielsen Media Research, 2005-08, with Willie C. Velasquez Institute, assessed the methodology of Latino household recruitment in Nielsen sample

TEACHING EXPERIENCE:

UCLA & UW — 2005 – Present

- Minority Political Behavior (Grad Seminar)
- Politics of Immigration in the U.S. (Grad Seminar)
- Introduction to Empirical/Regression Analysis (Grad Seminar)
- Advanced Empirical/Regression Analysis (Grad Seminar)
- Qualitative Research Methods (Grad Seminar)
- Political Participation & Elections (Grad Seminar)
- The Voting Rights Act (Law School seminar)
- Research methodology II (Law School Ph.D. program seminar)
- U.S. Latino Politics
- Racial and Ethnic Politics in the U.S.
- Politics of Immigration in the U.S.
- Introduction to American Government
- Public Opinion Research
- Campaigns and Elections in the U.S.
- Presidential Primary Elections

Teaching Assistant
University of California, Irvine — 2002 – 2005

- Intro to American Politics (K. Tate)
- Intro to Minority Politics (L. DeSipio)
  Recognized as Outstanding Teaching Assistant, Winter 2002
- Statistics and Research Methods (B. Grofman)
  Recognized as Outstanding Teaching Assistant, Winter 2003

BOARD & RESEARCH APPOINTMENTS

Founding Partner
Barreto Segura Partners (BSP) Research, LLC — 2021 - Present

Founding Partner
Latino Decisions — 2007 – 2020

Board of Advisors
American National Election Study, University of Michigan — 2010 – 2017

Advisory Board
States of Change: Demographics & Democracy Project — 2014 – Present
CAP, AEI, Brookings Collaborative Project

Research Advisor
American Values Institute / Perception Institute — 2009 – 2014

Expert Consultant
State of California, Citizens Redistricting Committee — 2011 – 2012

Senior Scholar & Advisory Council
Latino Policy Coalition, San Francisco, CA — 2006 – 2008

Board of Directors
CASA Latina, Seattle, WA — 2006 – 2009

Faculty Research Scholar
Tomás Rivera Policy Institute, University of Southern California — 1999 – 2009

PHD STUDENTS UCLA & UW

Committee Chair or Co-Chair

- Francisco I. Pedraza – University of California, Riverside (UW Ph.D. 2009)
- Loren Collingwood – University of California, Riverside (UW Ph.D. 2012)
- Betsy Cooper – Public Religion Research Institute, Washington DC (UW Ph.D. 2014)
- Sergio I. Garcia-Rios – Cornell University (UW Ph.D. 2015)
- Hannah Walker – Rutgers University (UW Ph.D. 2016)
- Kassra Oskooii – University of Delaware (UW Ph.D. 2016)
- Angela Ocampo – Arizona State University (UCLA Ph.D. 2018)
- Ayobami Laniyonu – University of Toronto (UCLA Ph.D. 2018)
- Bryan Wilcox-Archuleta – Facebook Analytics (UCLA 2019)
- Tyler Reny – Claremont Graduate University (UCLA 2020)
- Adria Tinin – Environmental Policy Analyst (UCLA Ph.D. 2020)
- Angie Gutierrez – University of Texas (UCLA Ph.D. 2021)
- Vivien Leung – Bucknell University (UCLA Ph.D. 2021)
- Marcel Roman – University of Texas (UCLA Ph.D. 2021)
- Shakari Byerly-Nelson – *in progress* (UCLA)

Committee Member

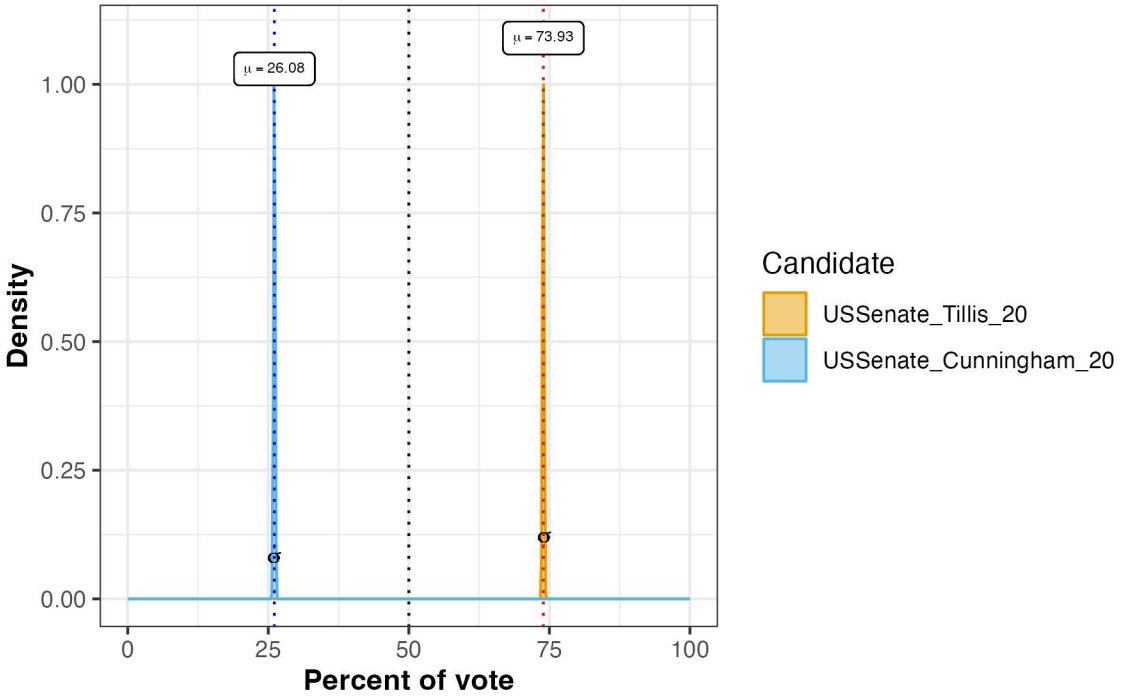
- Jessica Stewart – Emory University (UCLA Ph.D. 2018)
- Jonathan Collins – Brown University (UCLA Ph.D., 2017)
- Lisa Sanchez – University of Arizona (UNM Ph.D., 2016)
- Nazita Lajevardi – Michigan State University (UC San Diego Ph.D., 2016)
- Kiku Huckle – Pace University (UW Ph.D. 2016)
- Patrick Rock (Social Psychology) – (UCLA Ph.D. 2016)
- Raynee Gutting – Loyola Marymount University (Stony Brook Ph.D. 2015)
- Christopher Towler – Sacramento State University (UW Ph.D. 2014)
- Benjamin F. Gonzalez – San Diego State University (UW Ph.D. 2014)
- Marcela Garcia-Castañon – San Francisco State University (UW Ph.D. 2013)
- Justin Reedy (Communications) – University of Oklahoma (UW Ph.D. 2012)
- Dino Bozonelos – Cal State San Marcos (UC Riverside Ph.D. 2012)
- Brandon Bosch – University of Nebraska (UW Ph.D. 2012)
- Karam Dana (Middle East Studies) – UW Bothell (UW Ph.D. 2010)
- Joy Wilke – *in progress* (UCLA ABD)
- Erik Hanson – *in progress* (UCLA)
- Christine Slaughter – Princeton (UCLA Ph.D. 2021)
- Lauren Goldstein (Social Psychology) – *in progress* (UCLA)
- Barbara Gomez-Aguinaga – University of Nebraska (UNM Ph.D. 2020)
- Bang Quan Zheng – Florida International University (UCLA Ph.D. 2020)

Appendix D:

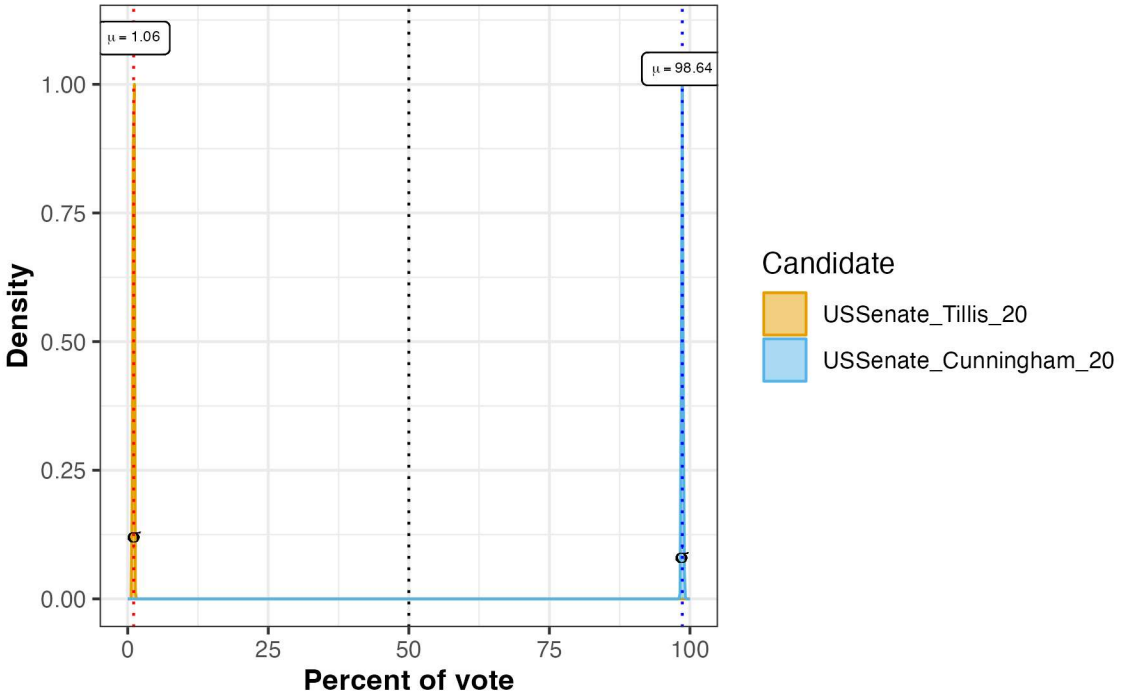
Statewide RPV analysis: Black and white point estimates and confidence intervals

EI Density Plots

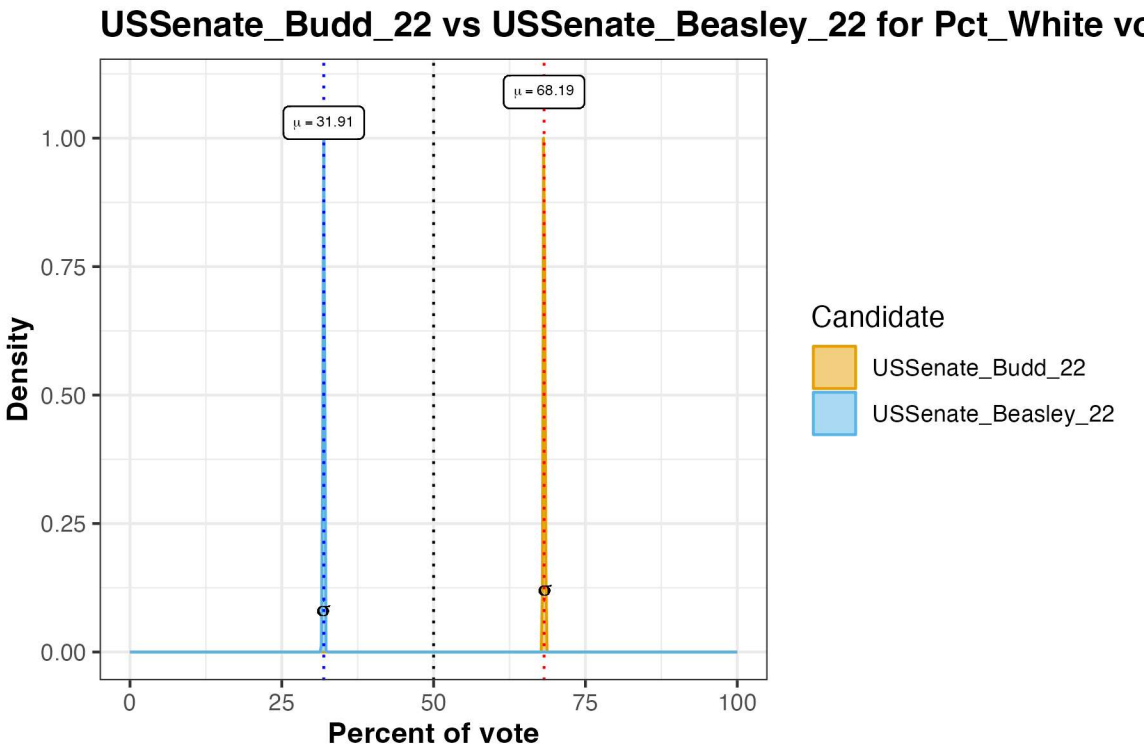
USSenate_Tillis_20 vs USSenate_Cunningham_20 for Pct_Whi

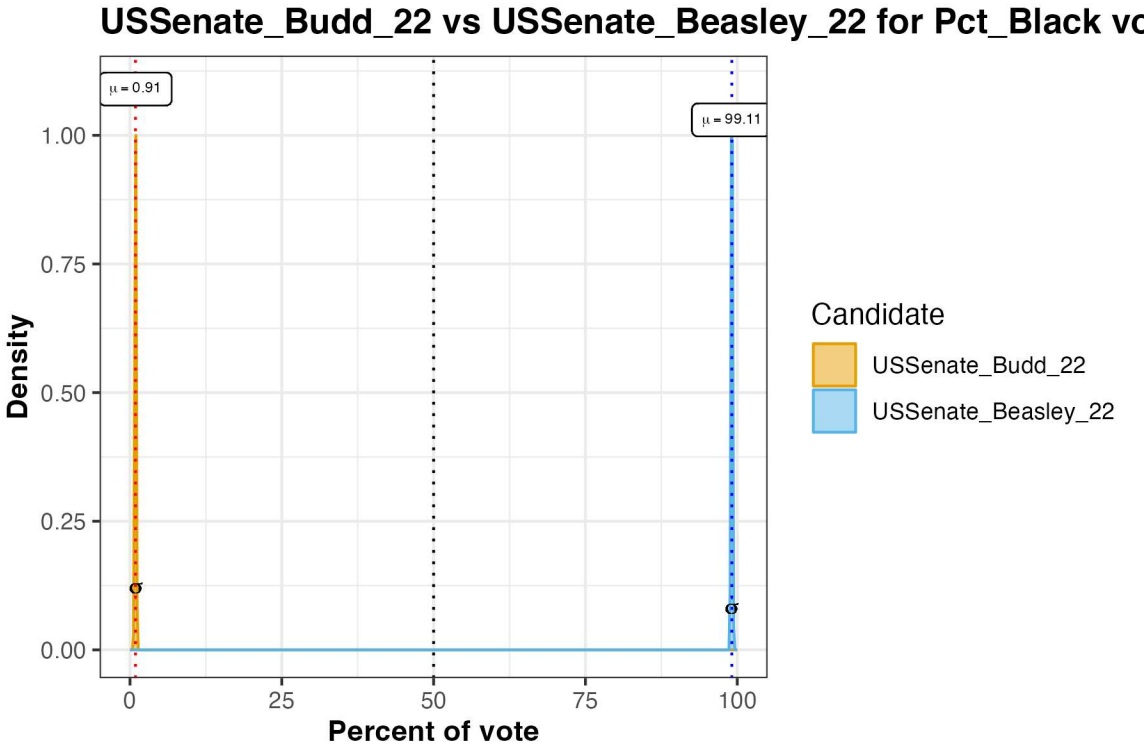


USSenate_Tillis_20 vs USSenate_Cunningham_20 for Pct_Blac

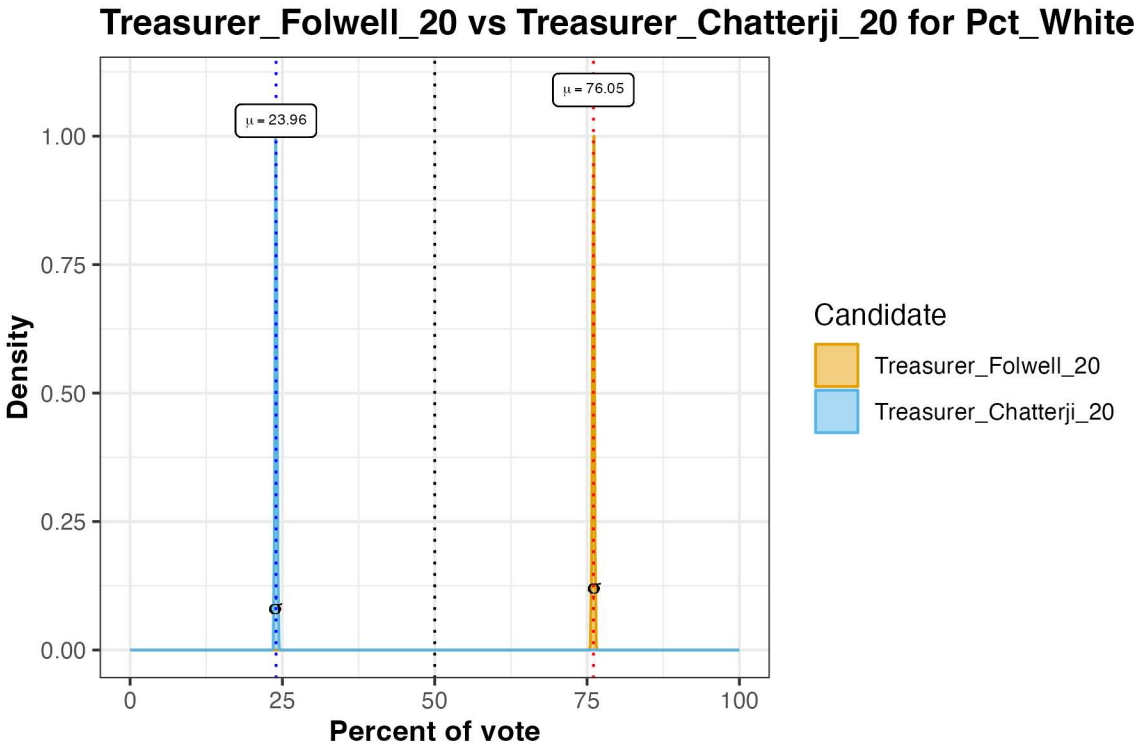


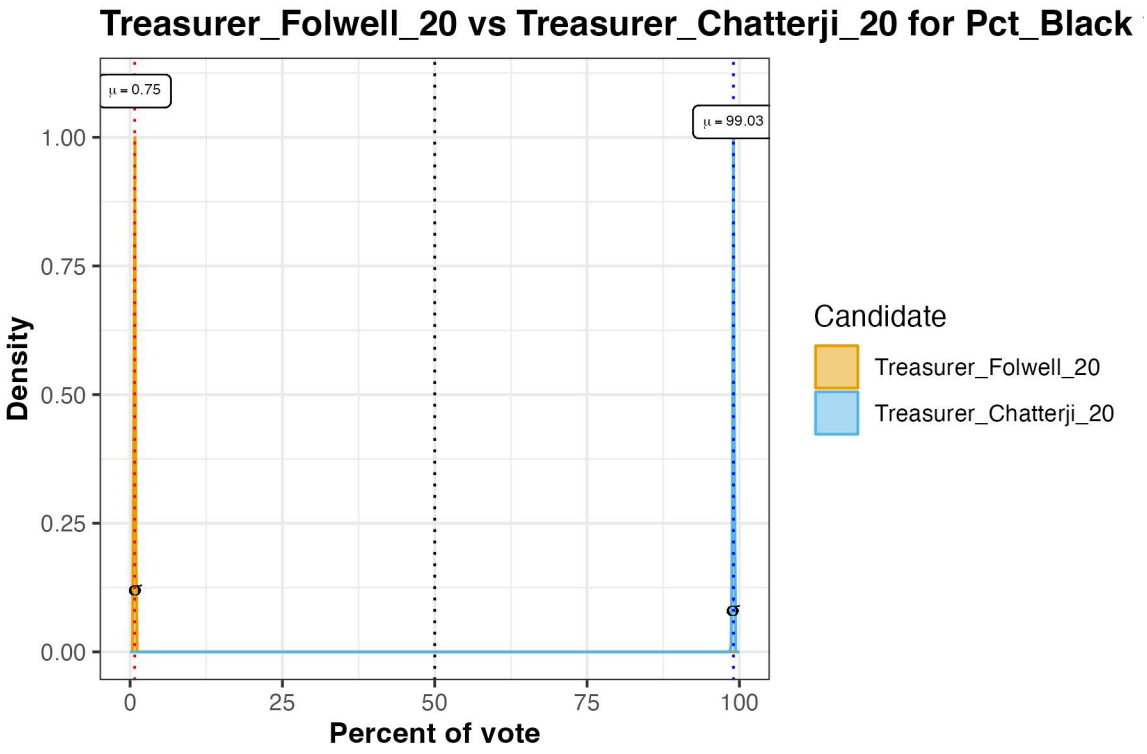
Statewide RPV analysis: Black and white point estimates and confidence intervals



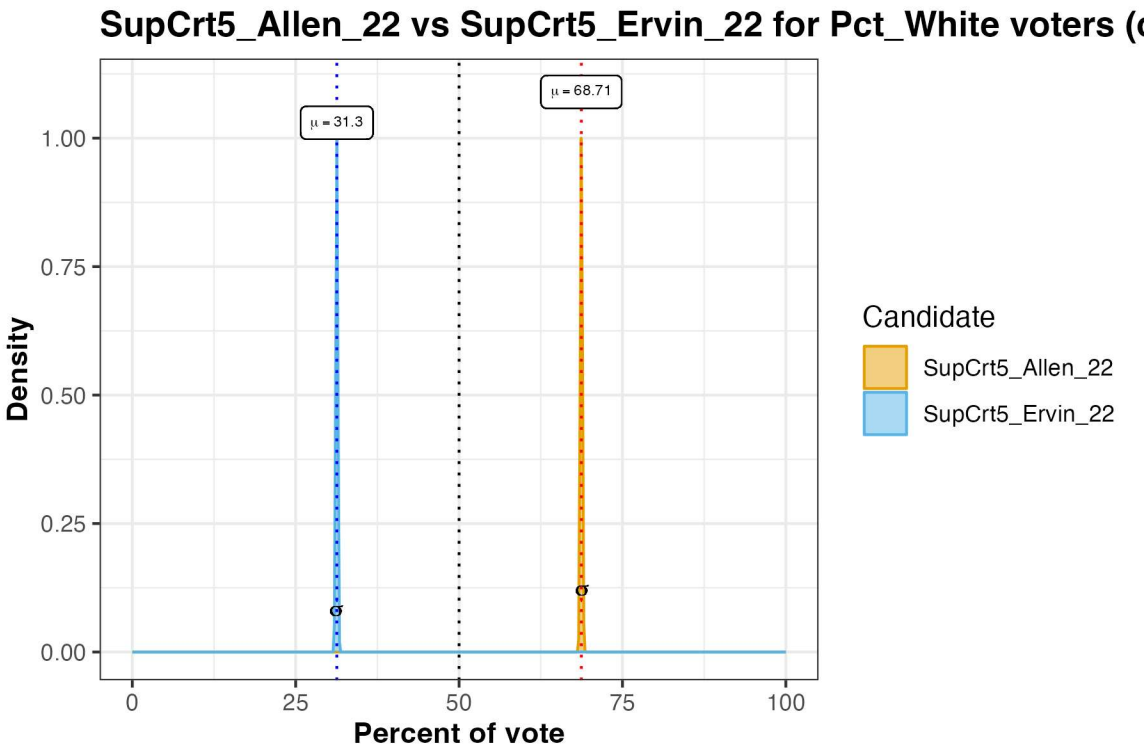


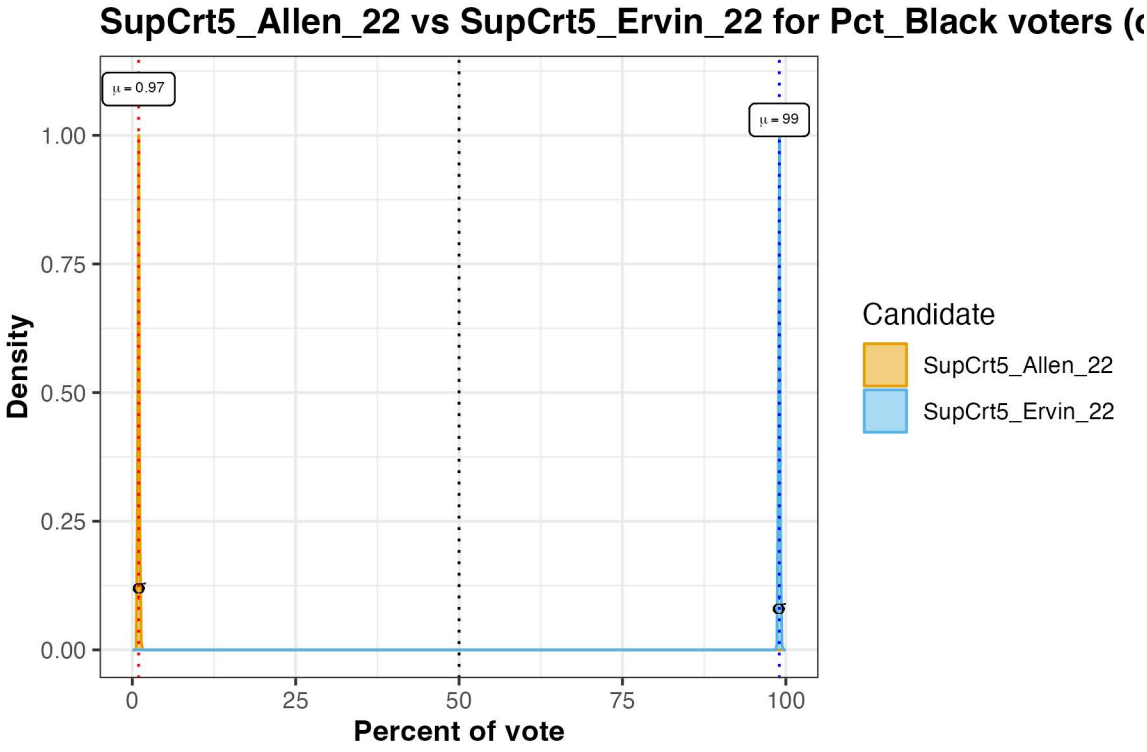
Statewide RPV analysis: Black and white point estimates and confidence intervals



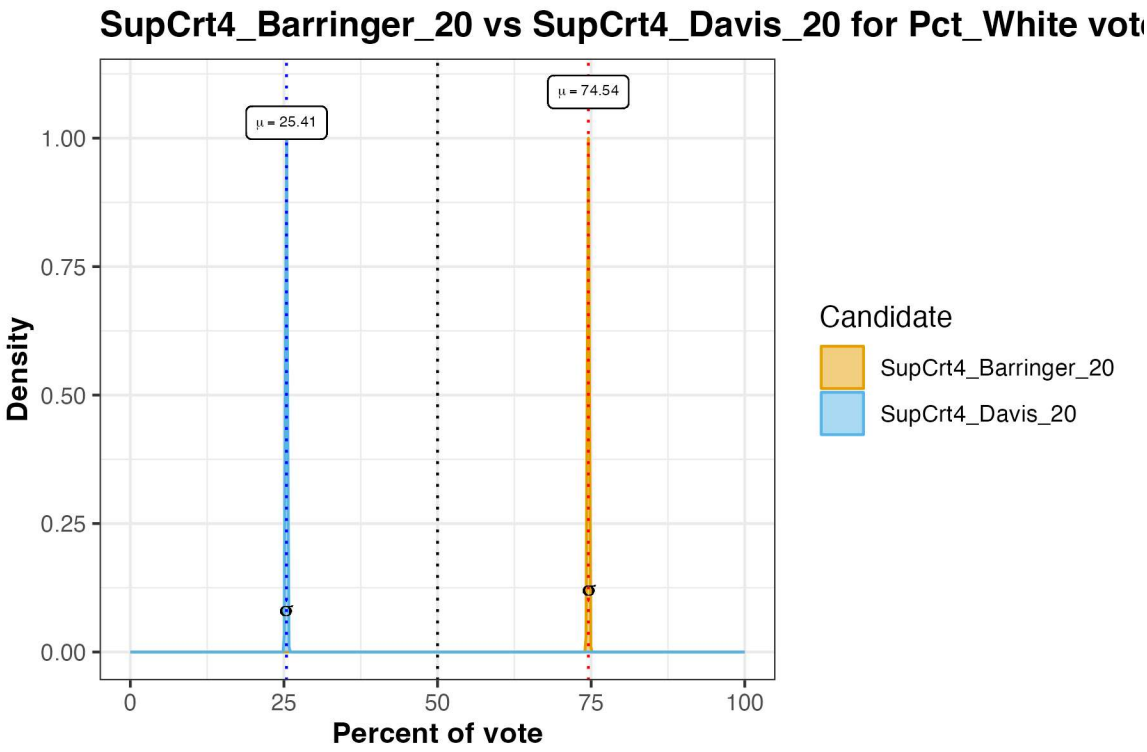


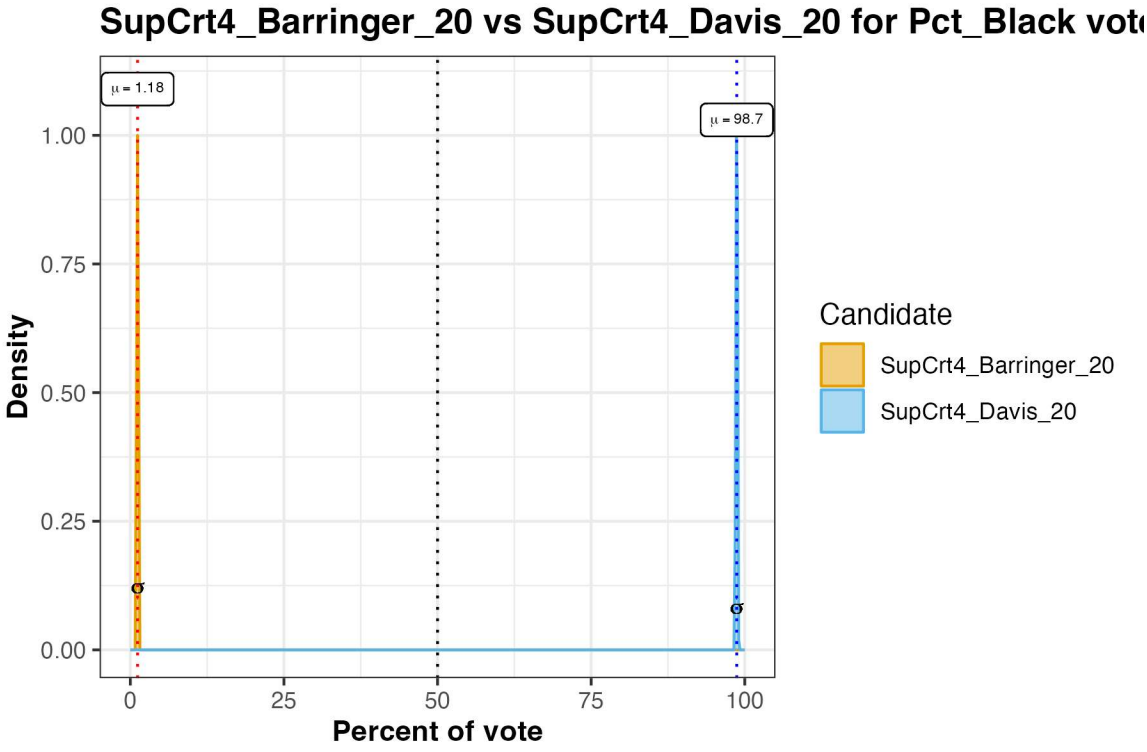
Statewide RPV analysis: Black and white point estimates and confidence intervals



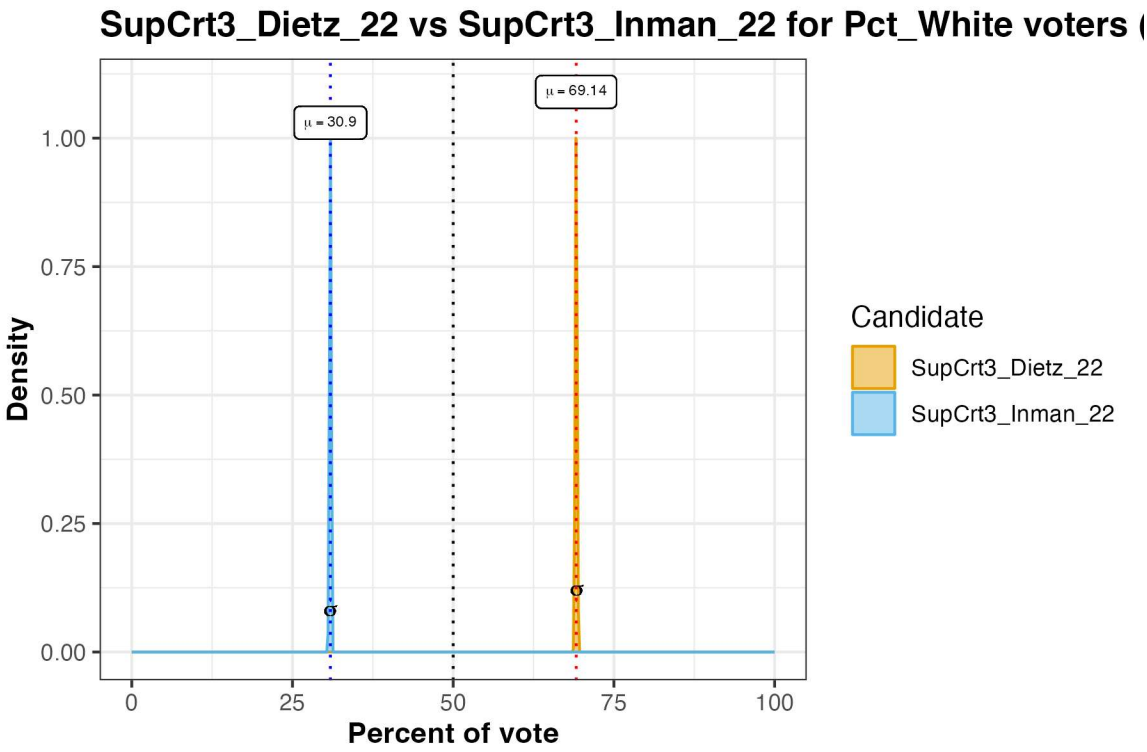


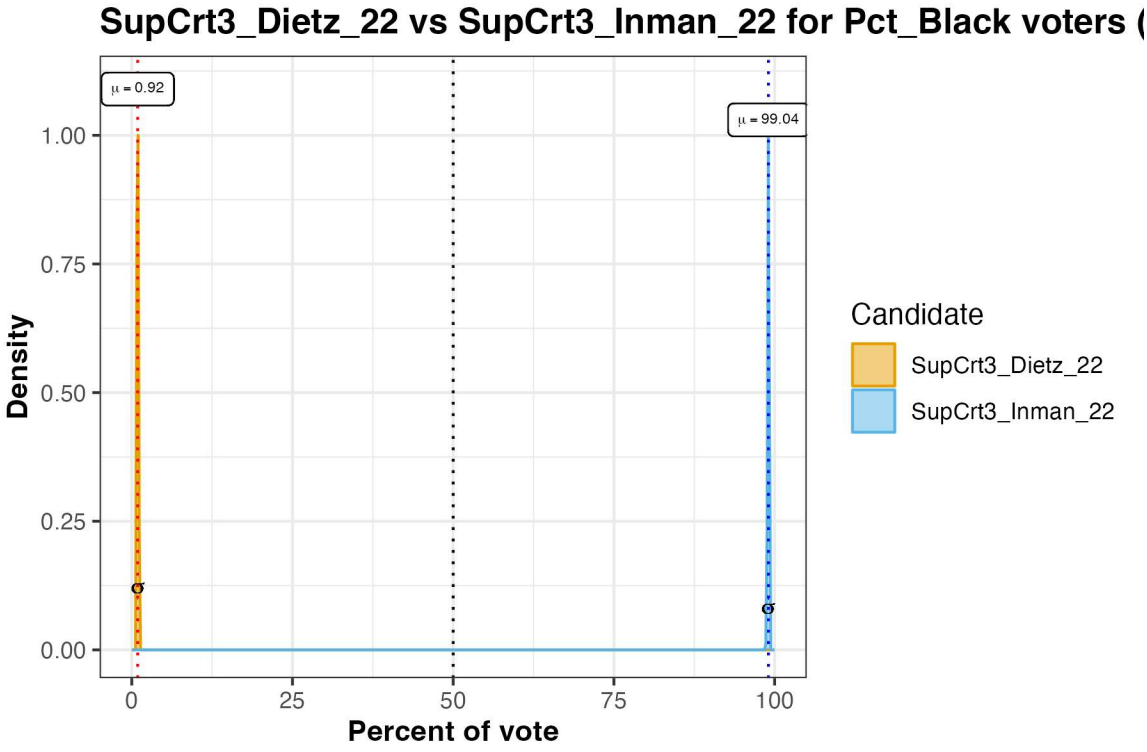
Statewide RPV analysis: Black and white point estimates and confidence intervals



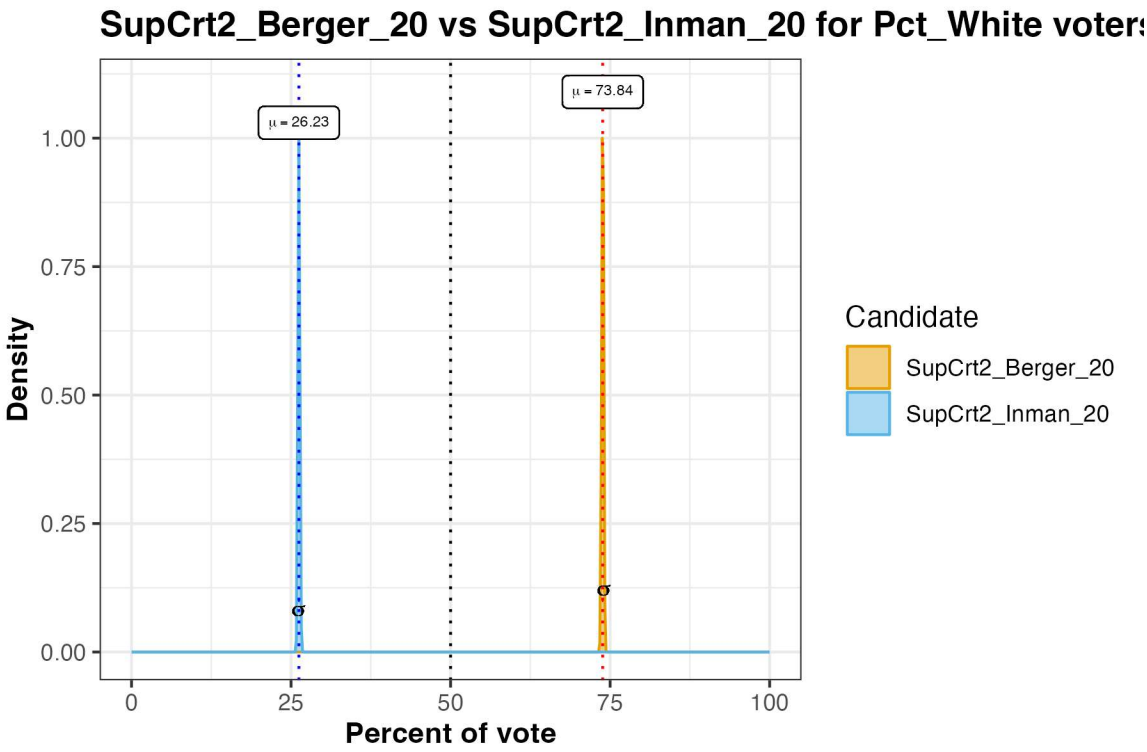


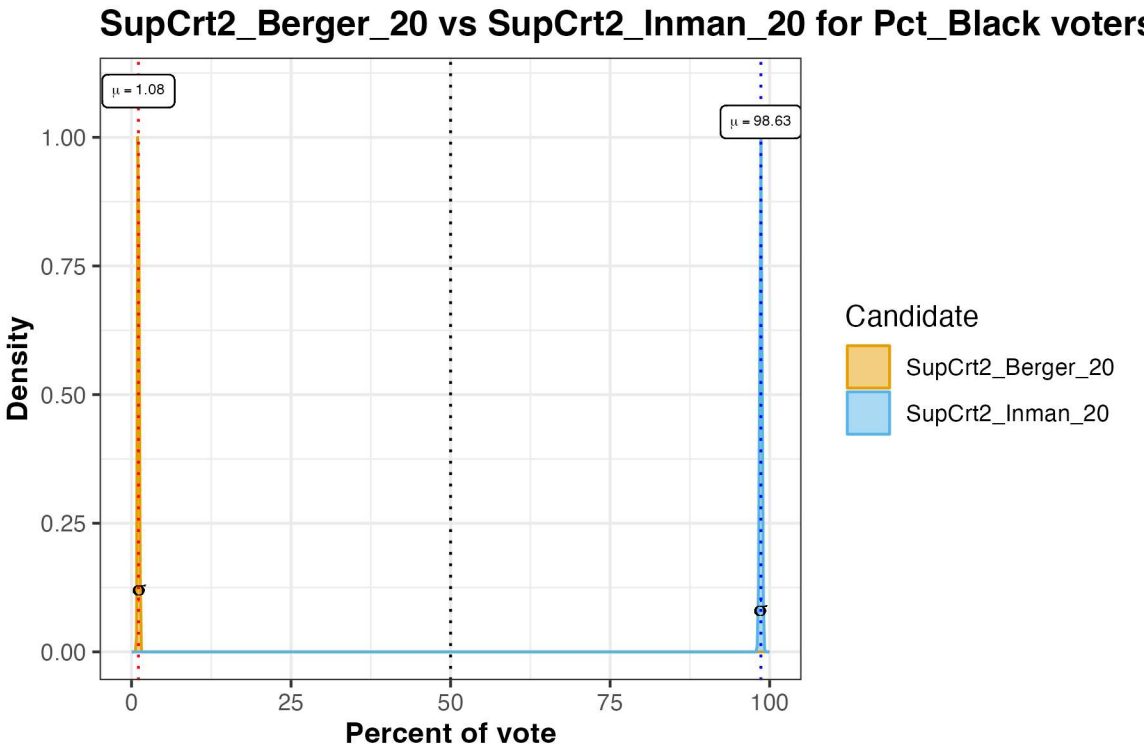
Statewide RPV analysis: Black and white point estimates and confidence intervals



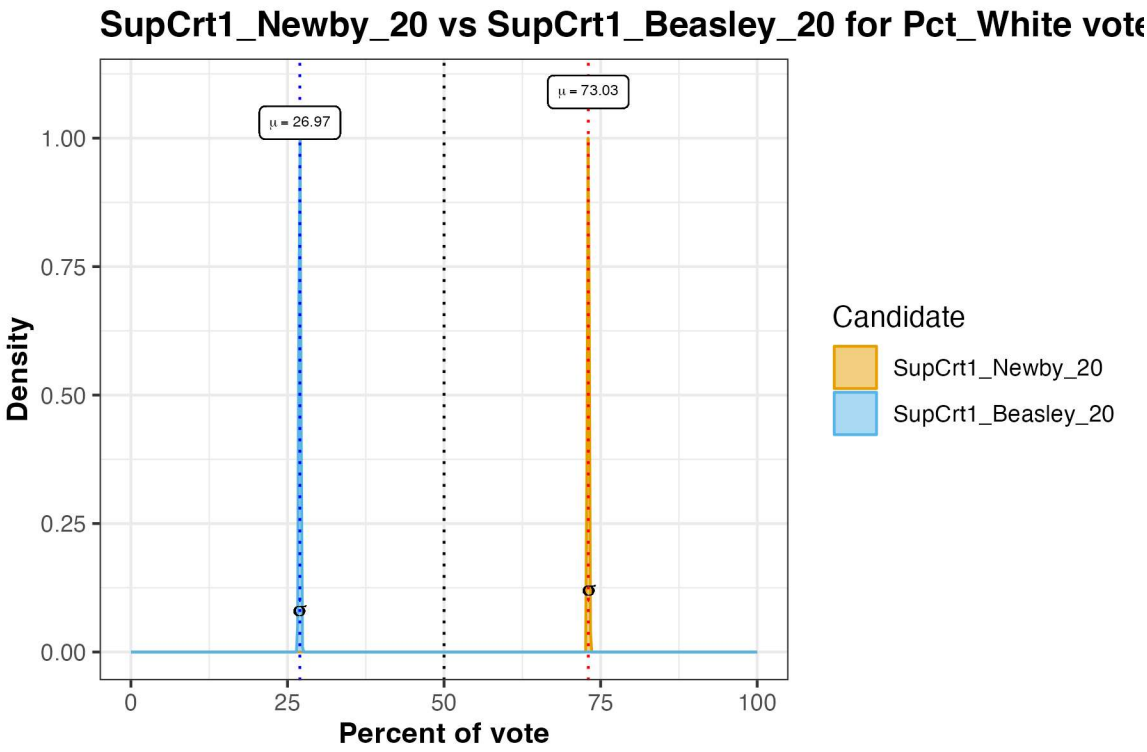


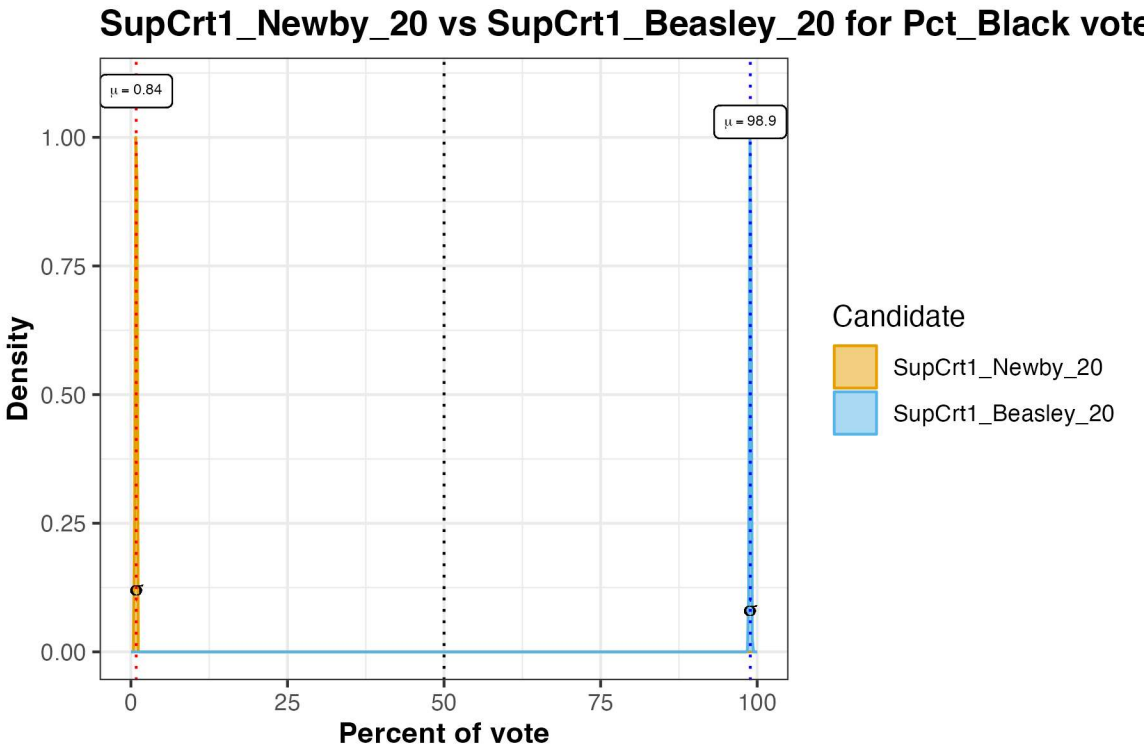
Statewide RPV analysis: Black and white point estimates and confidence intervals



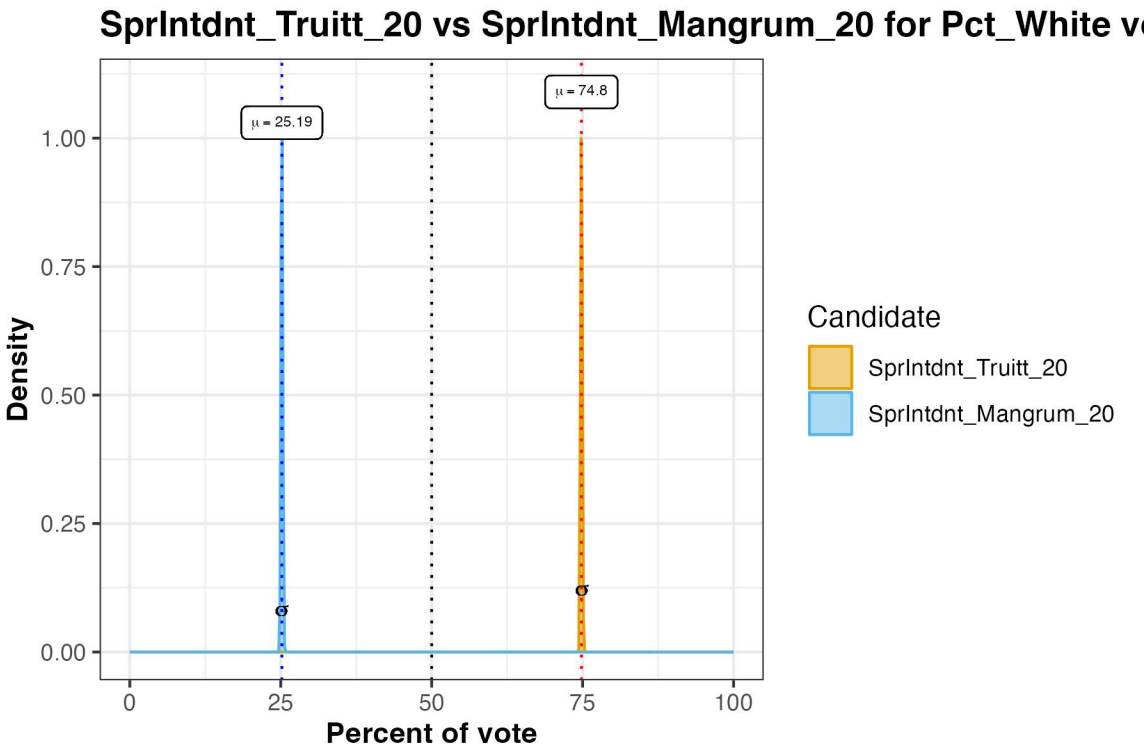


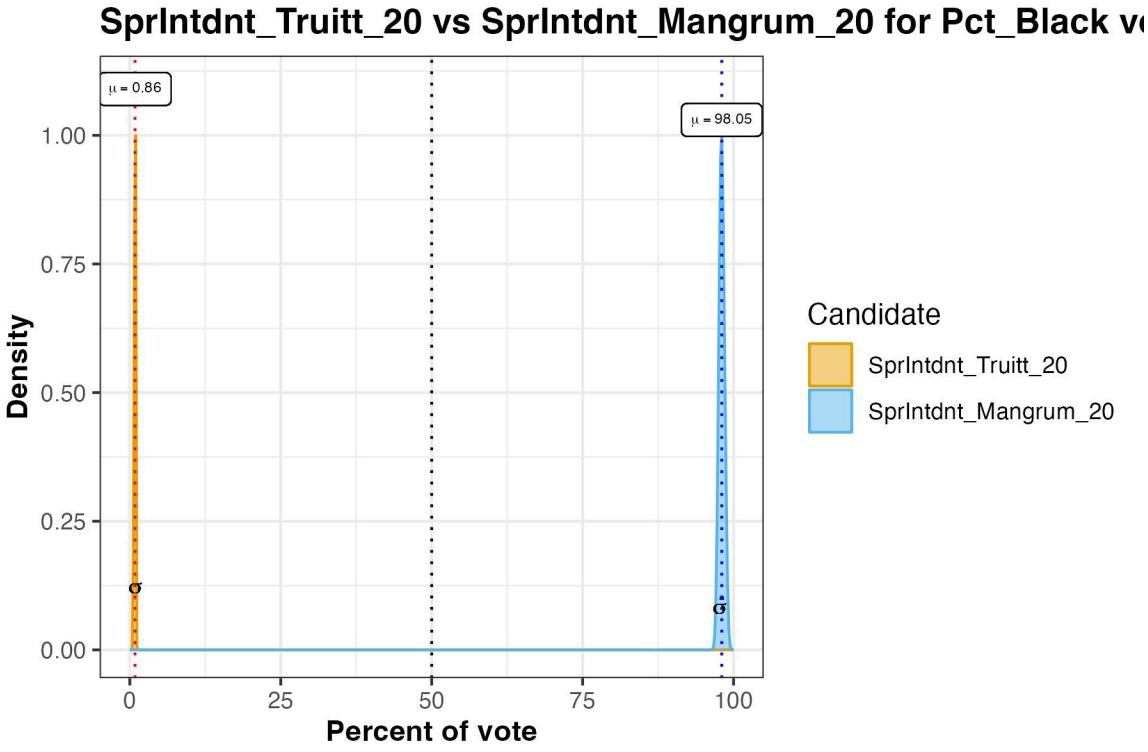
Statewide RPV analysis: Black and white point estimates and confidence intervals

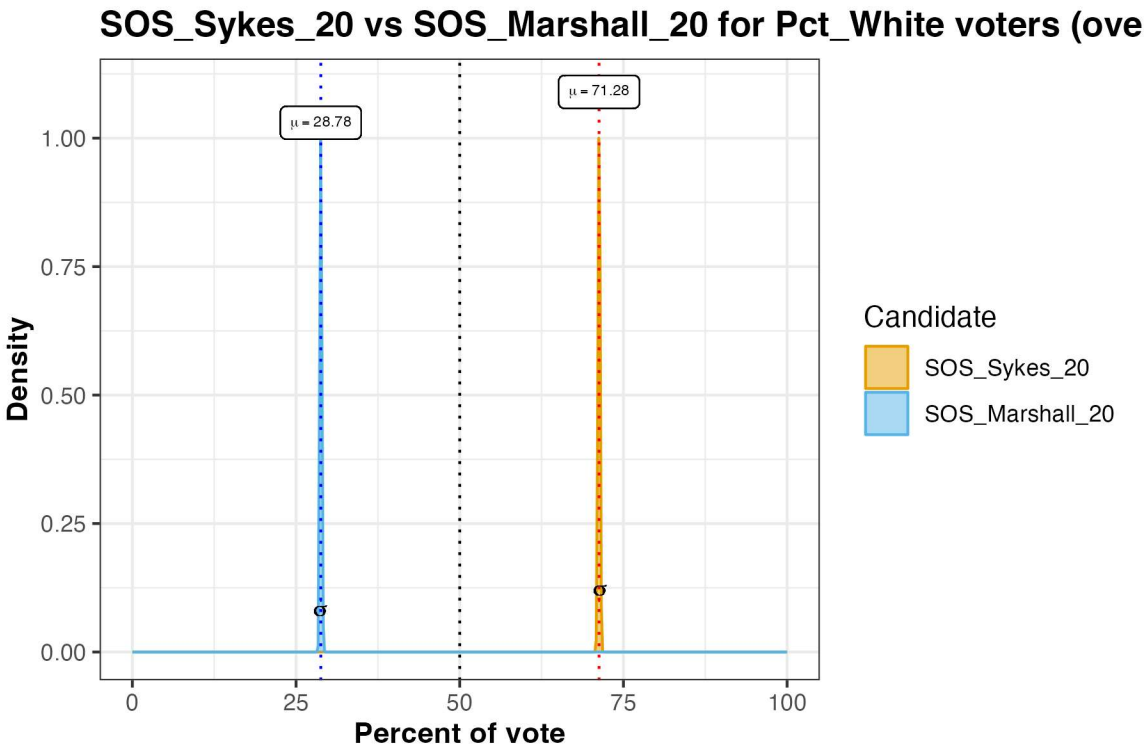


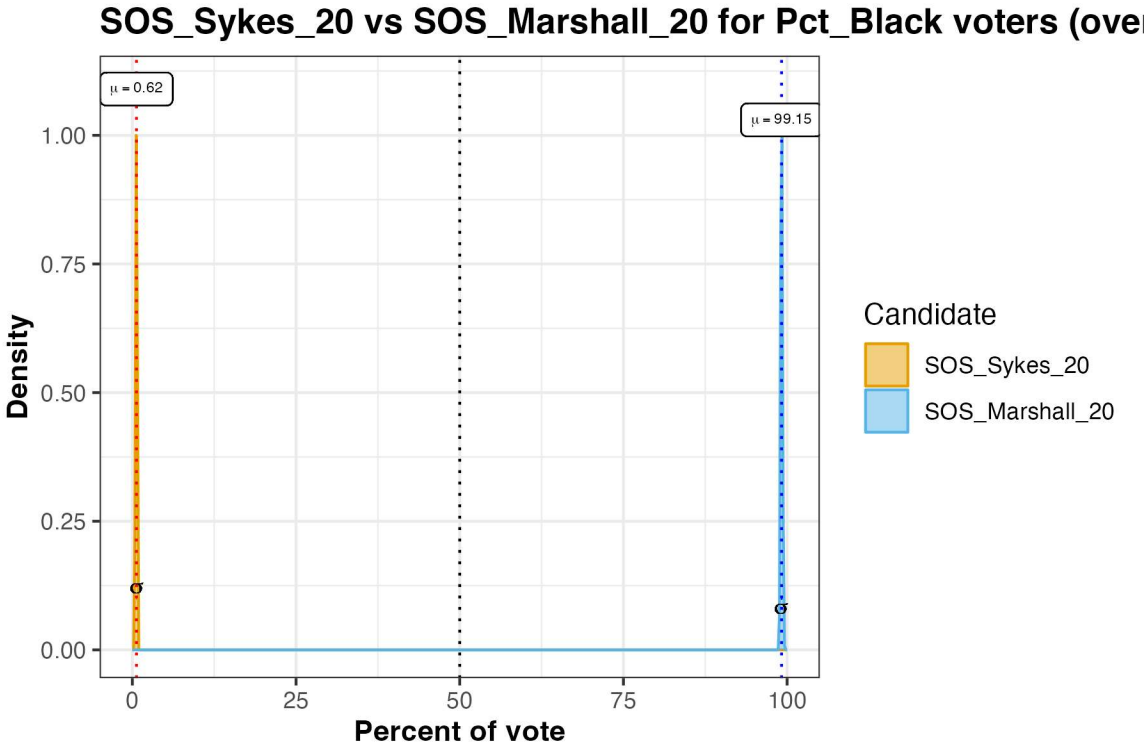


Statewide RPV analysis: Black and white point estimates and confidence intervals

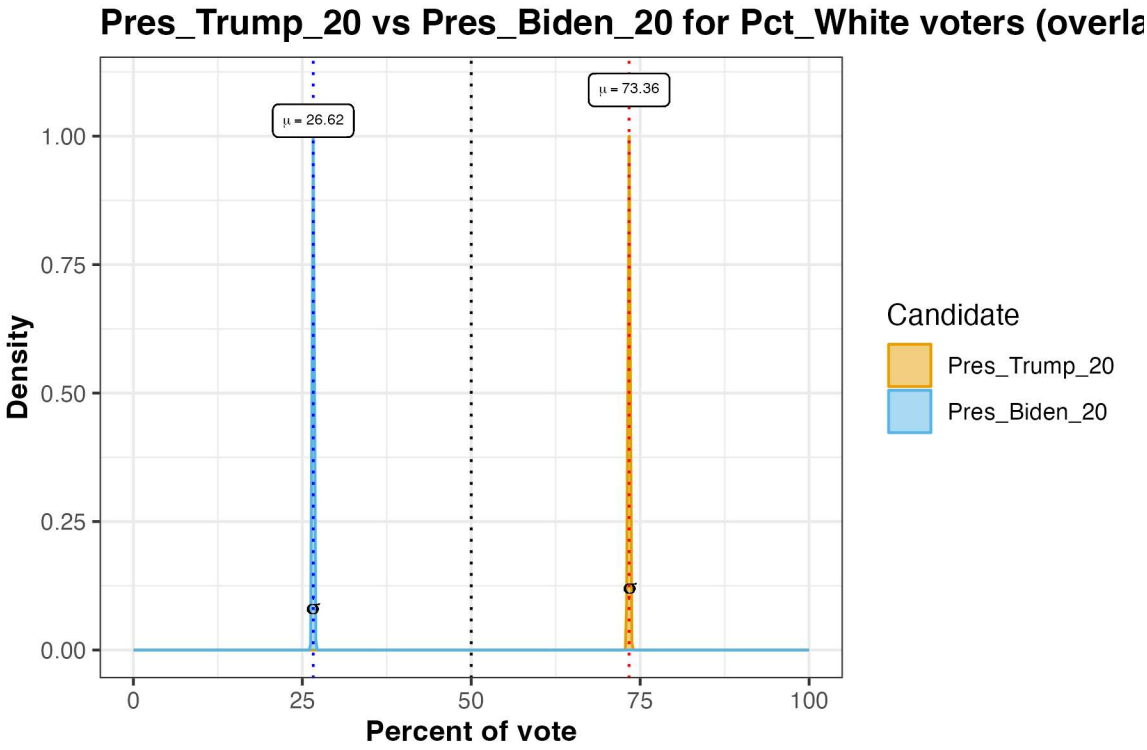


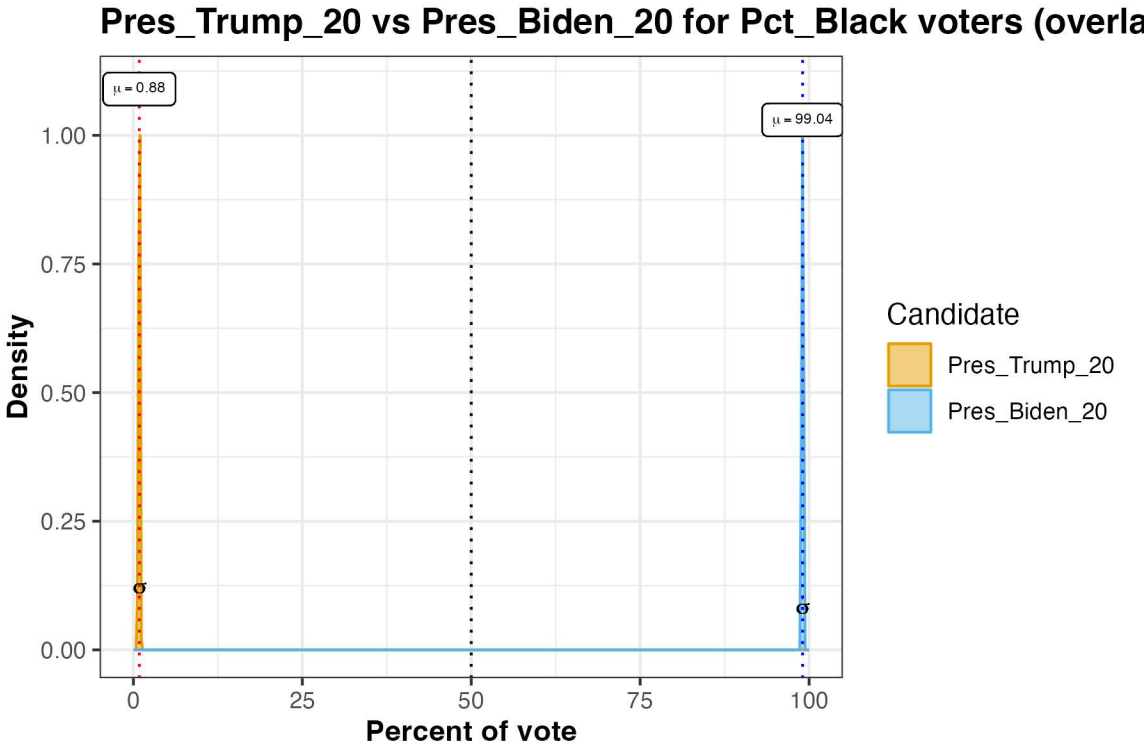



SOS_Sykes_20 vs SOS_Marshall_20 for Pct_White voters (ove
μ = 28.78
μ = 71.28
σ
σ
1.00
0.75
0.50
0.25
0.00
Density
0
25
50
75
100
Percent of vote
Candidate
SOS_Sykes_20
SOS_Marshall_20

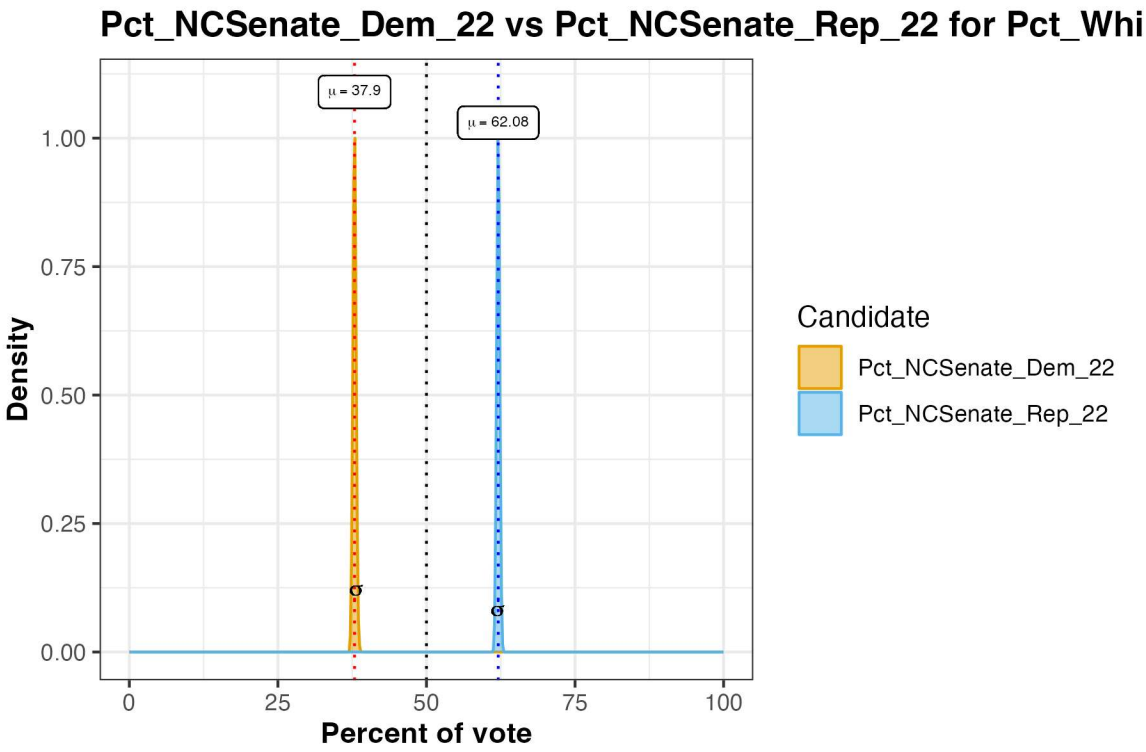

SOS_Sykes_20 vs SOS_Marshall_20 for Pct_Black voters (ove
μ = 0.62
μ = 99.15
σ
σ
1.00
0.75
0.50
0.25
0.00
Density
0
25
50
75
100
Percent of vote
Candidate
SOS_Sykes_20
SOS_Marshall_20

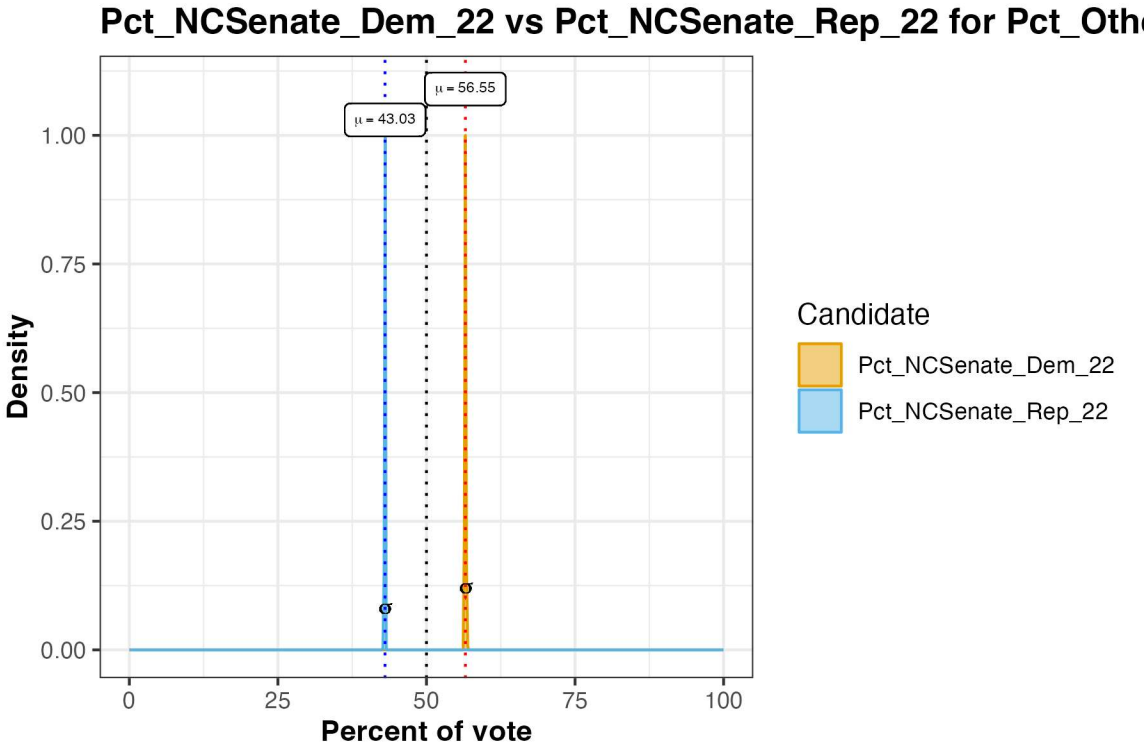
Statewide RPV analysis: Black and white point estimates and confidence intervals



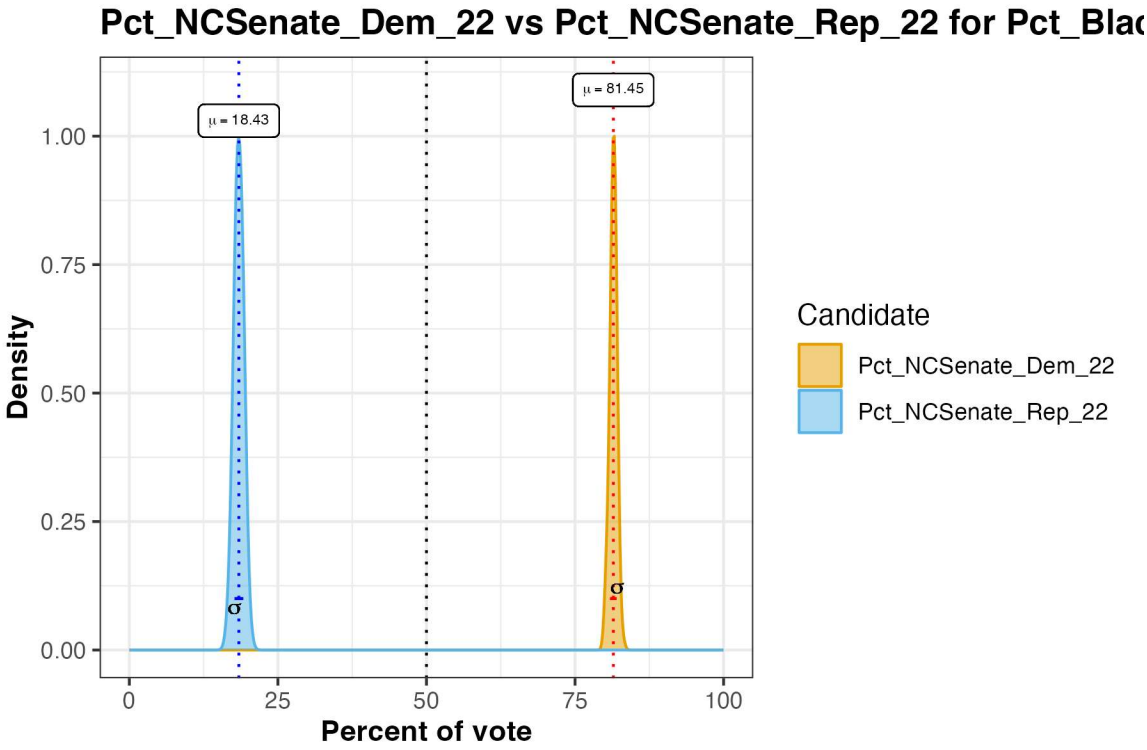


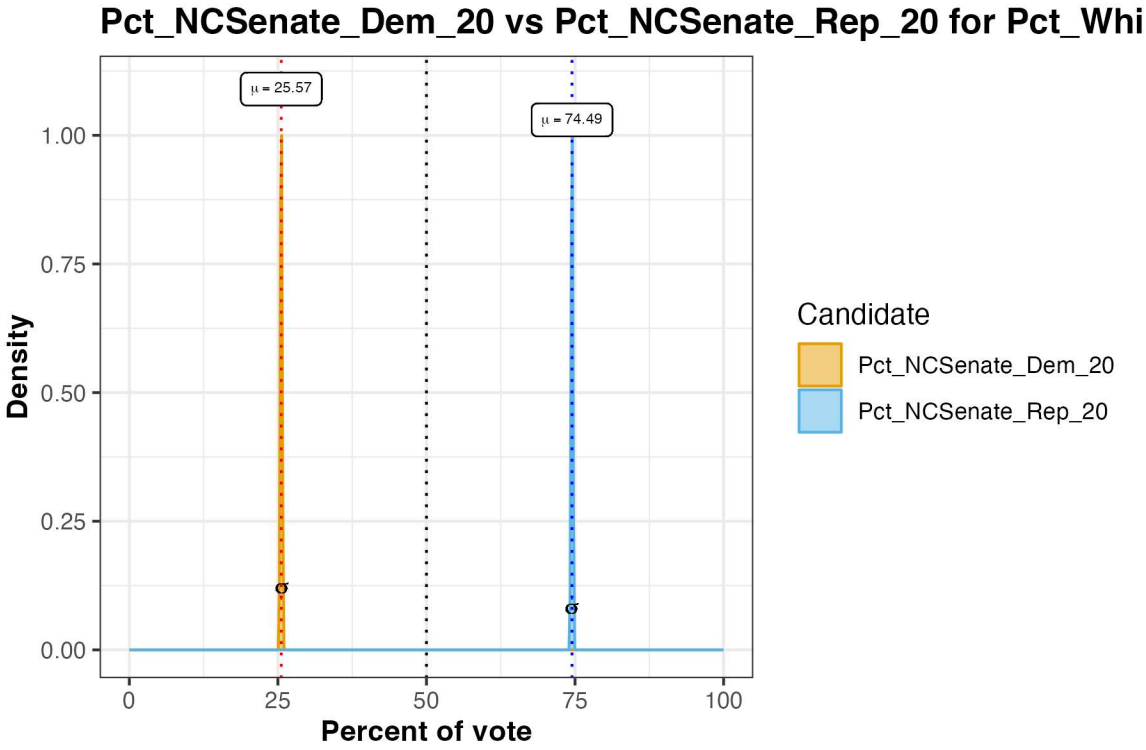
Statewide RPV analysis: Black and white point estimates and confidence intervals



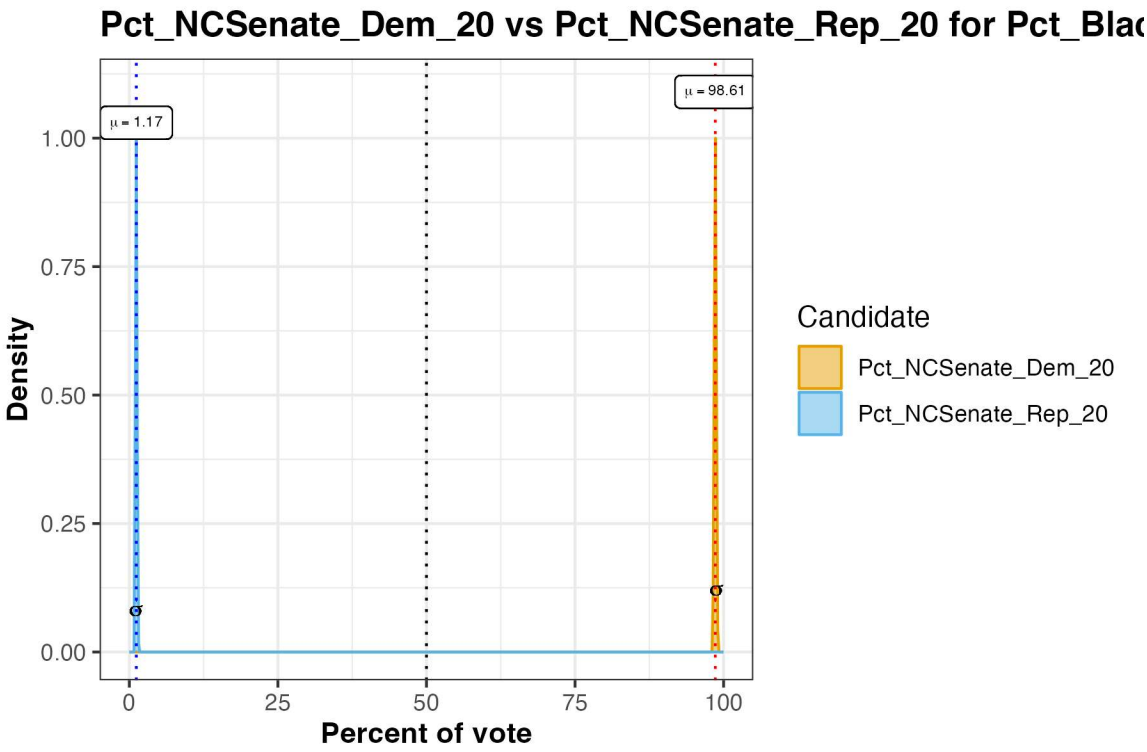


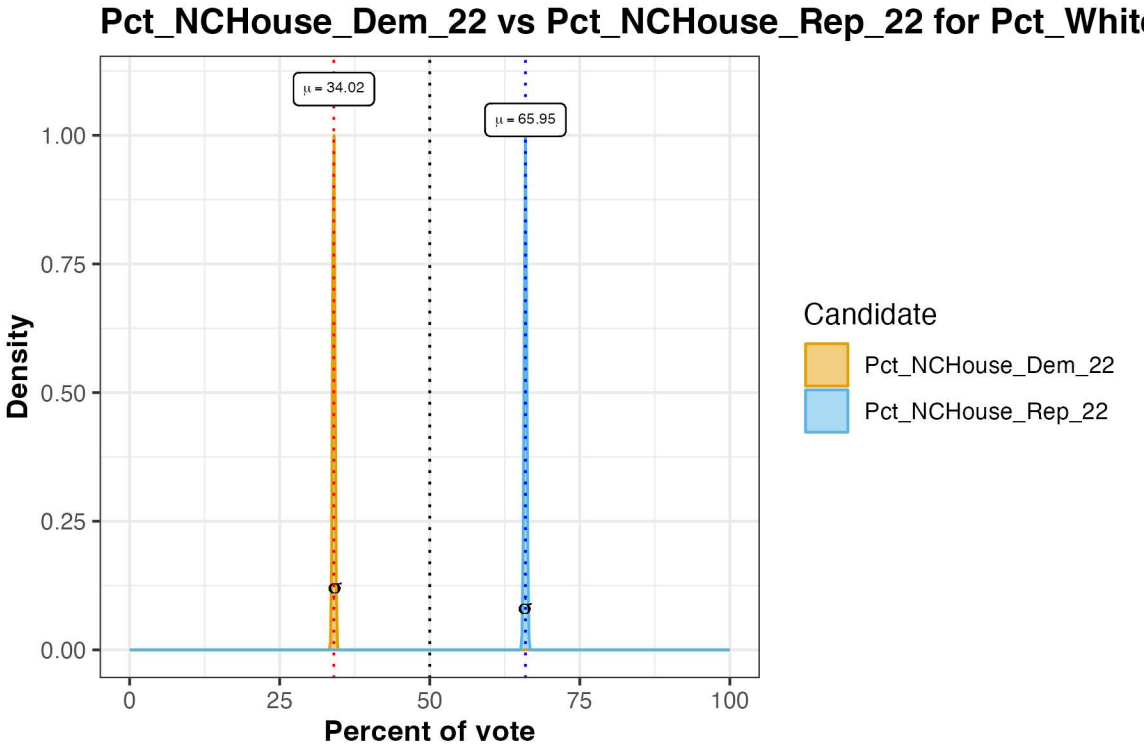
Statewide RPV analysis: Black and white point estimates and confidence intervals



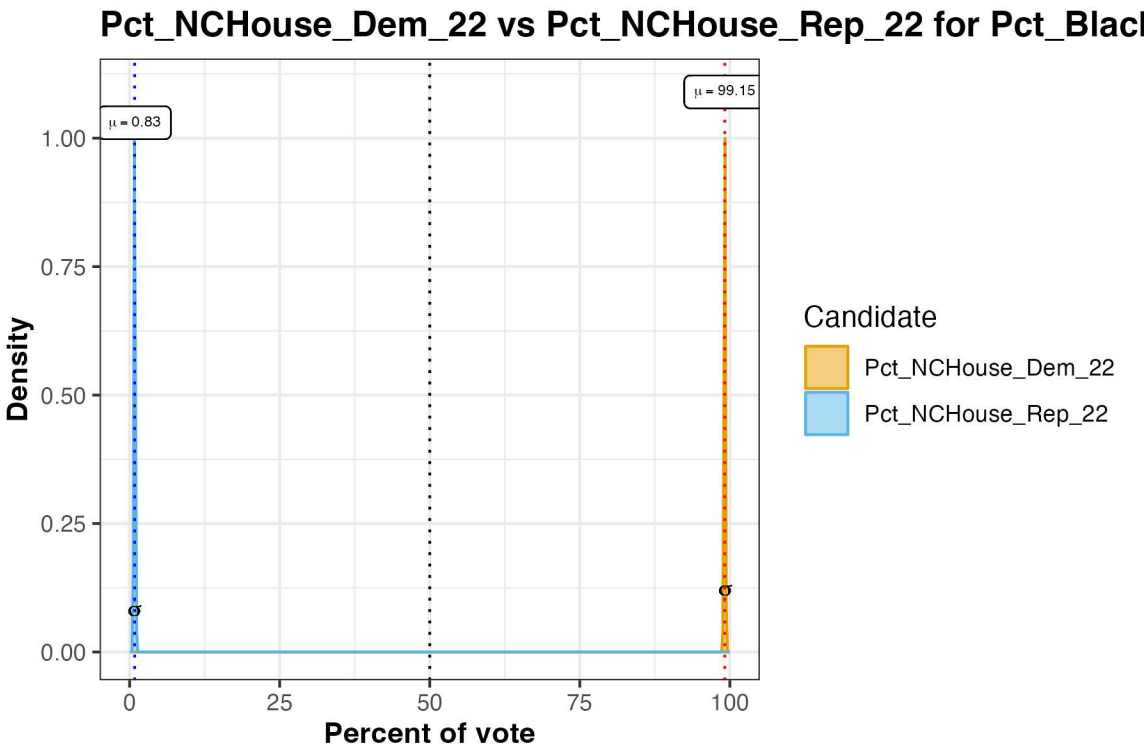


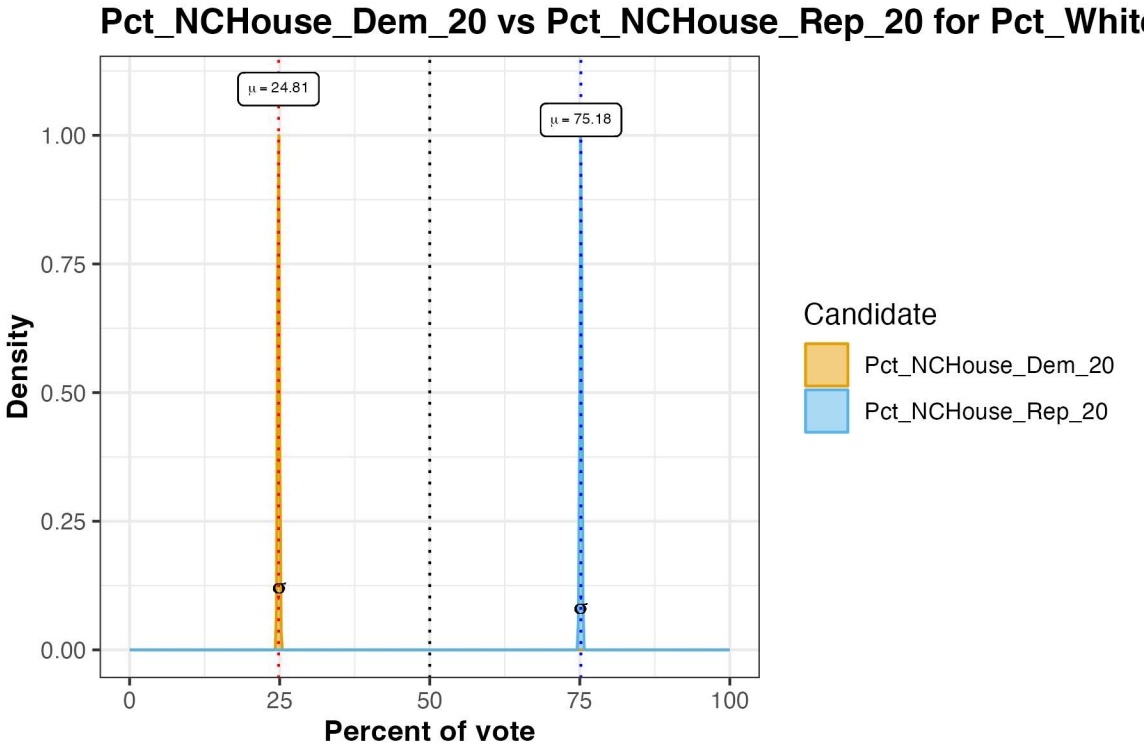
Statewide RPV analysis: Black and white point estimates and confidence intervals



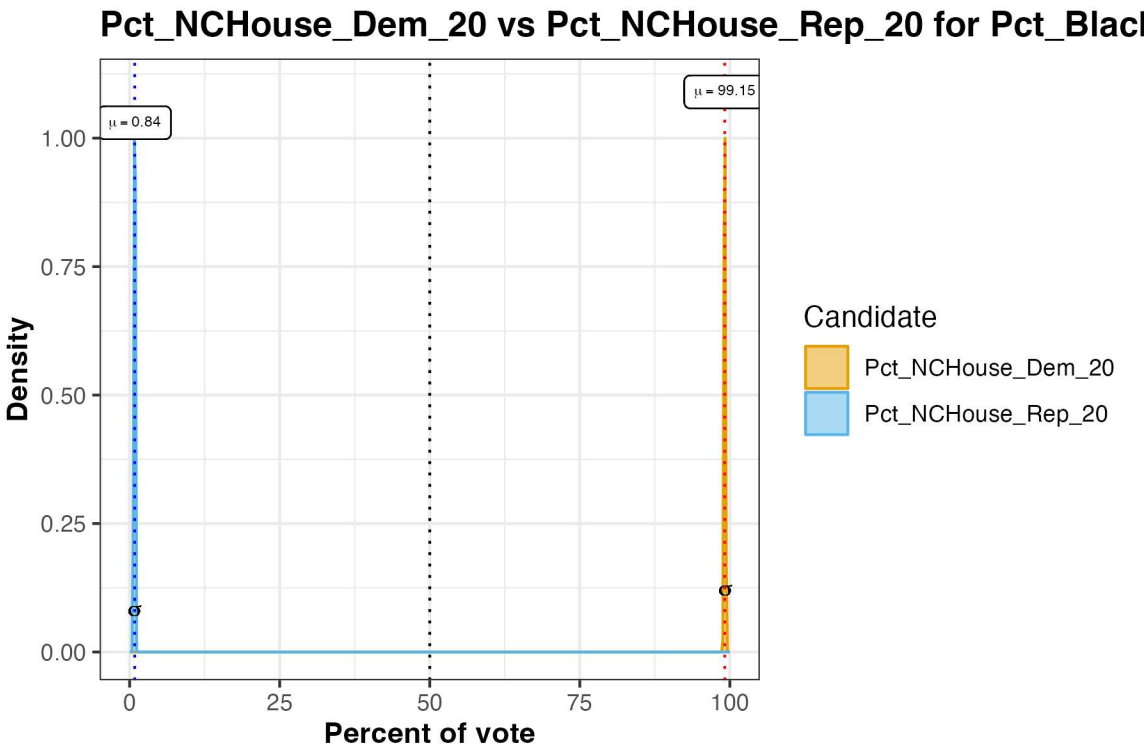


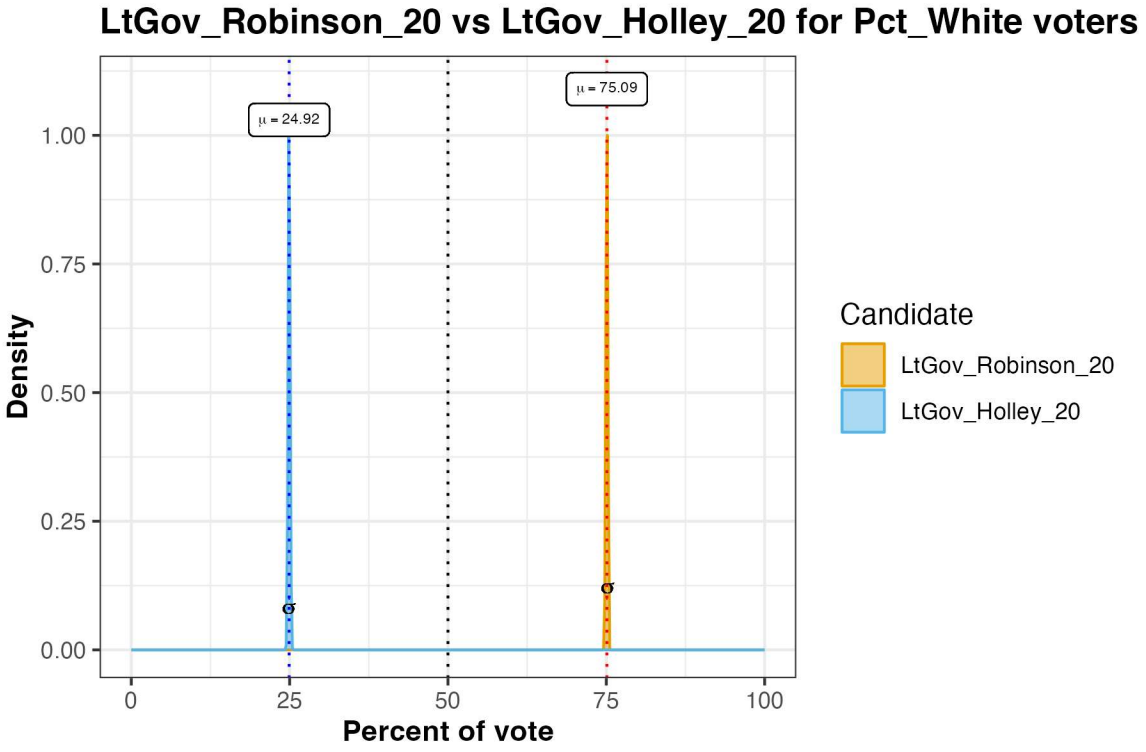
Statewide RPV analysis: Black and white point estimates and confidence intervals



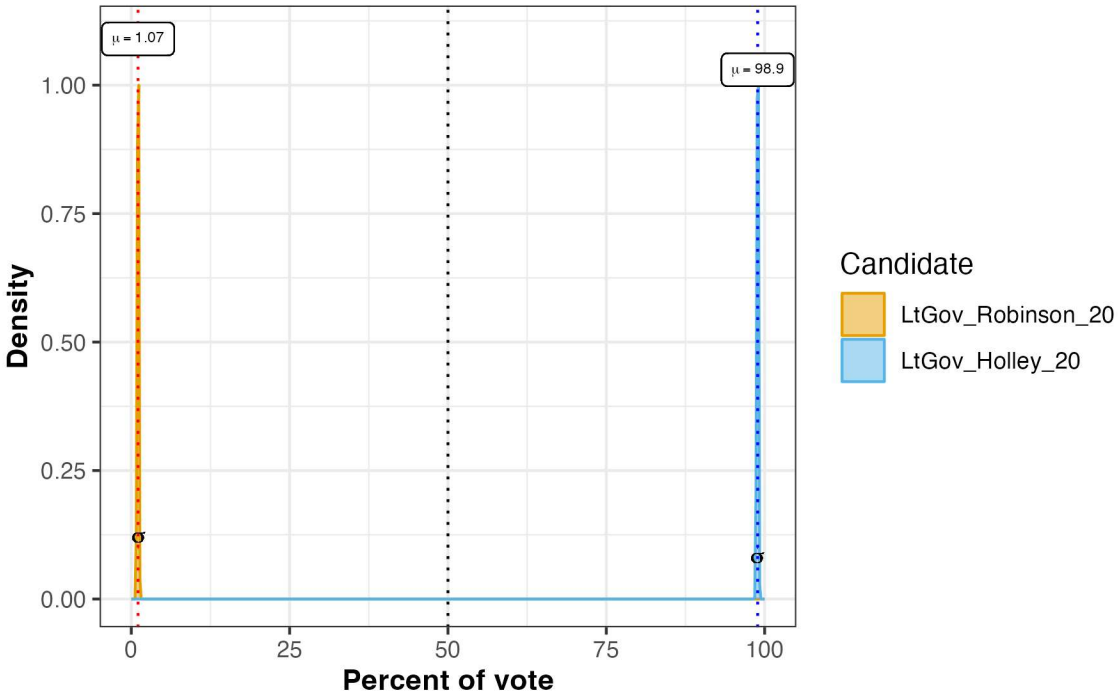


Statewide RPV analysis: Black and white point estimates and confidence intervals

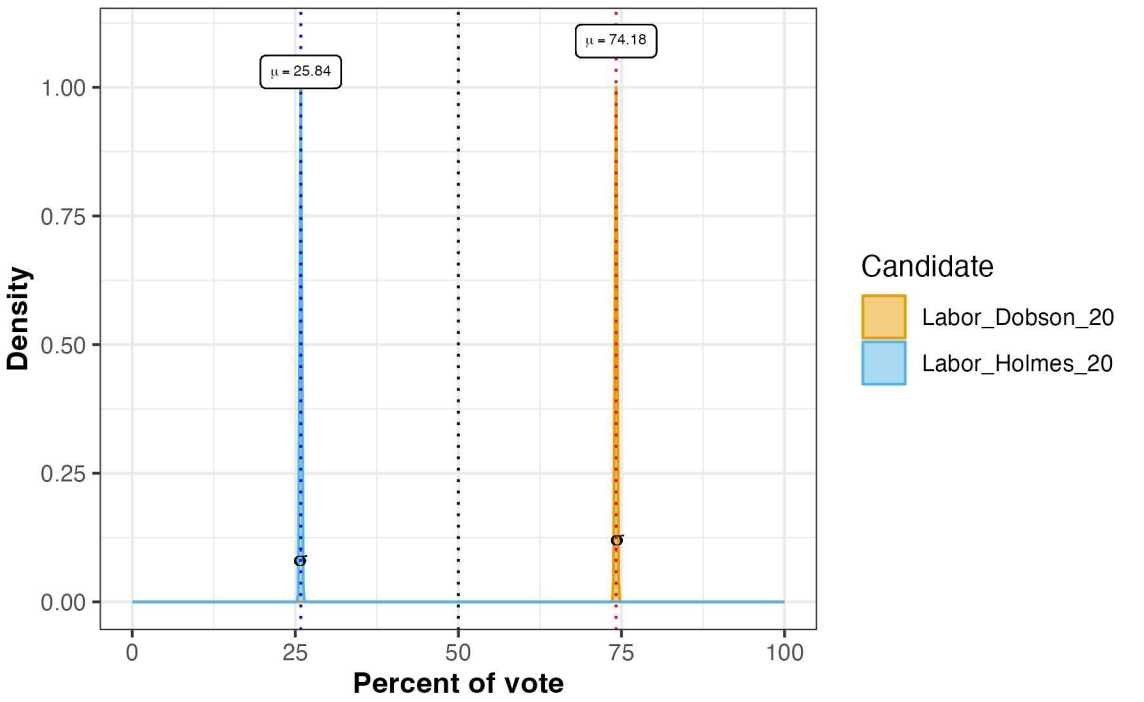




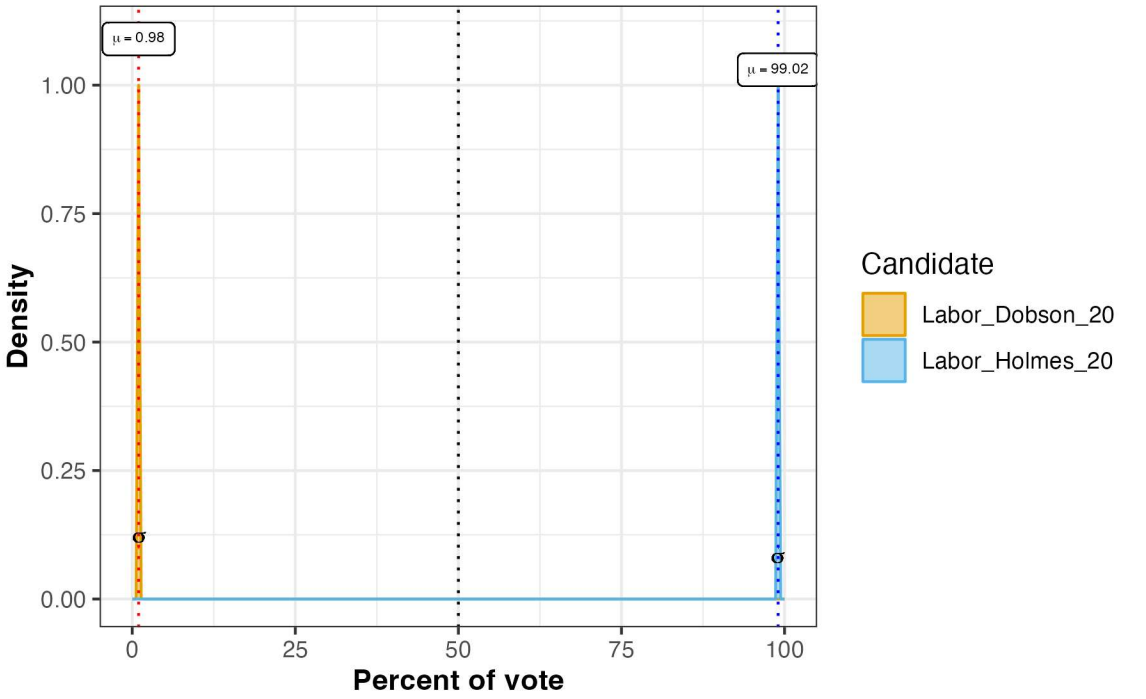
LtGov_Robinson_20 vs LtGov_Holley_20 for Pct_Black voters



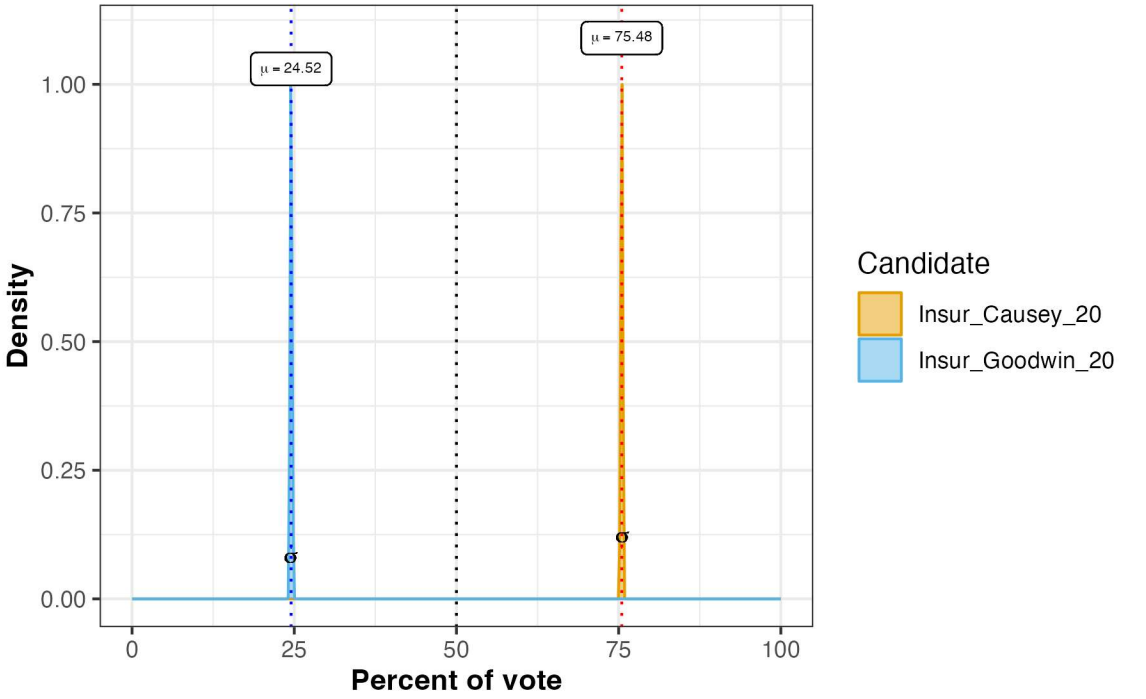
Labor_Dobson_20 vs Labor_Holmes_20 for Pct_White voters (



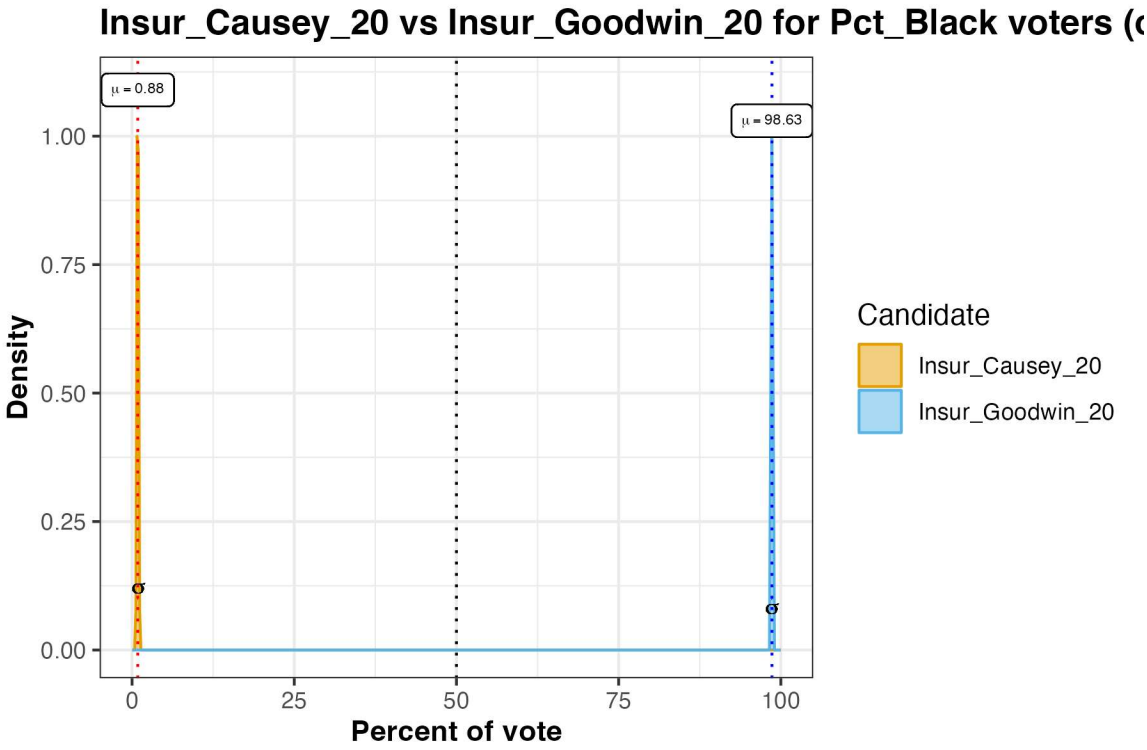
Labor_Dobson_20 vs Labor_Holmes_20 for Pct_Black voters (

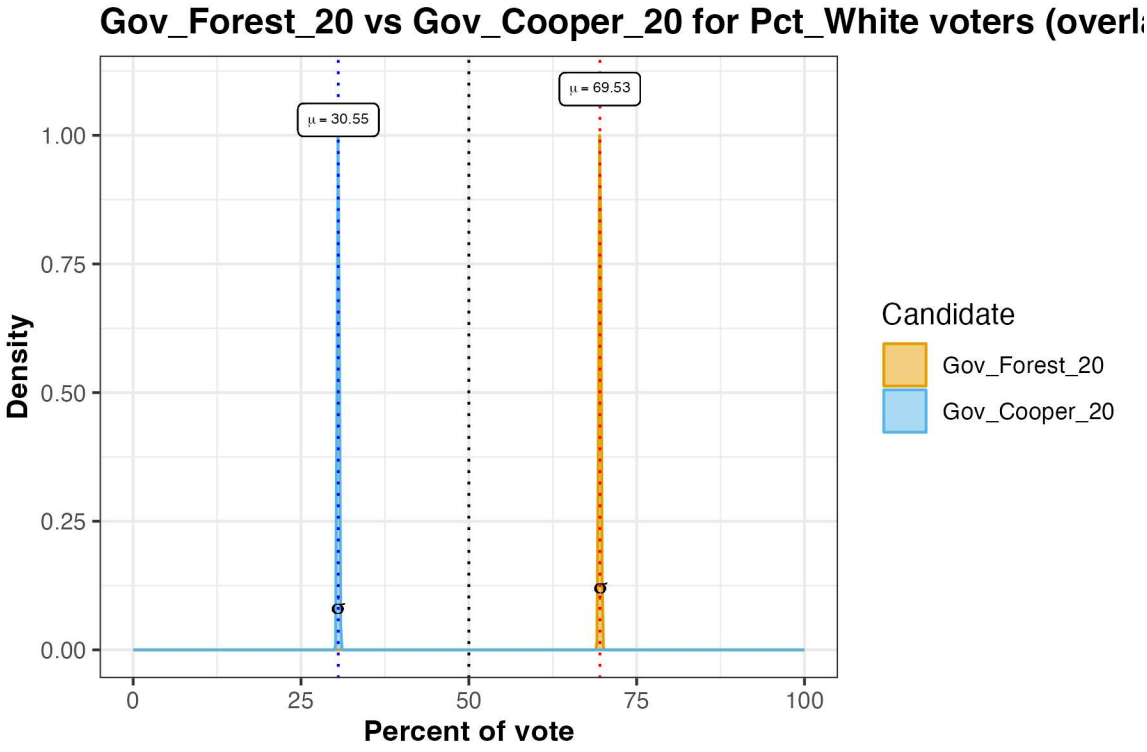


Insur_Causey_20 vs Insur_Goodwin_20 for Pct_White voters (

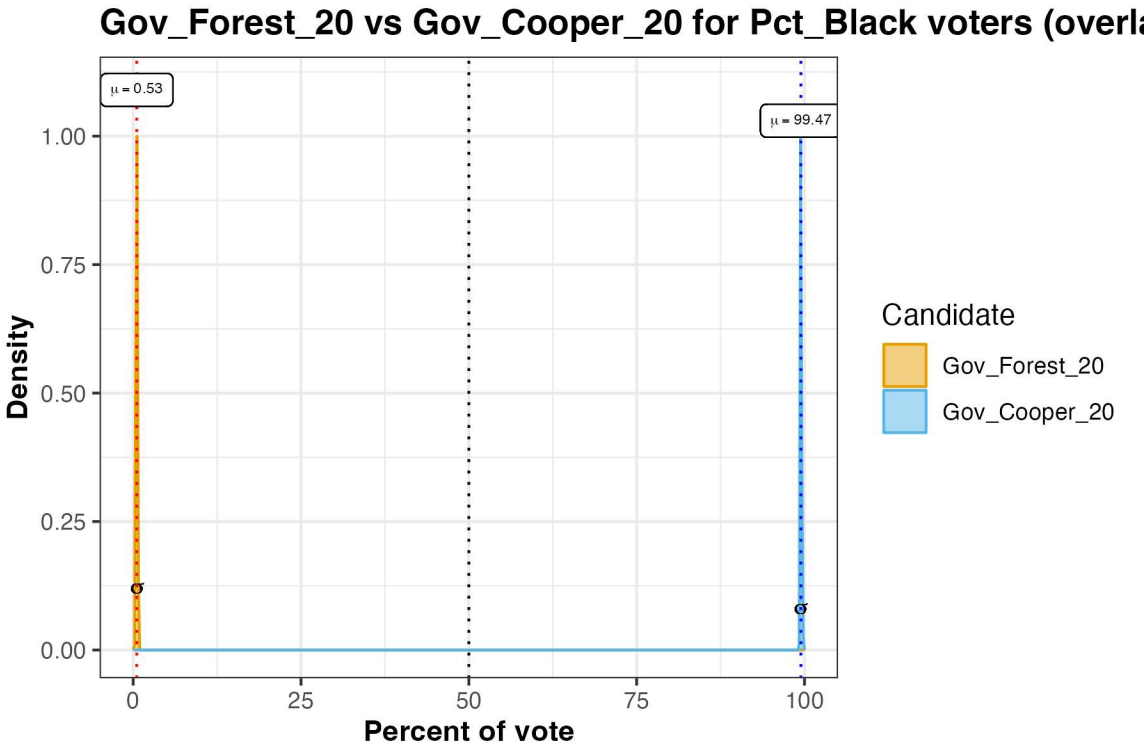


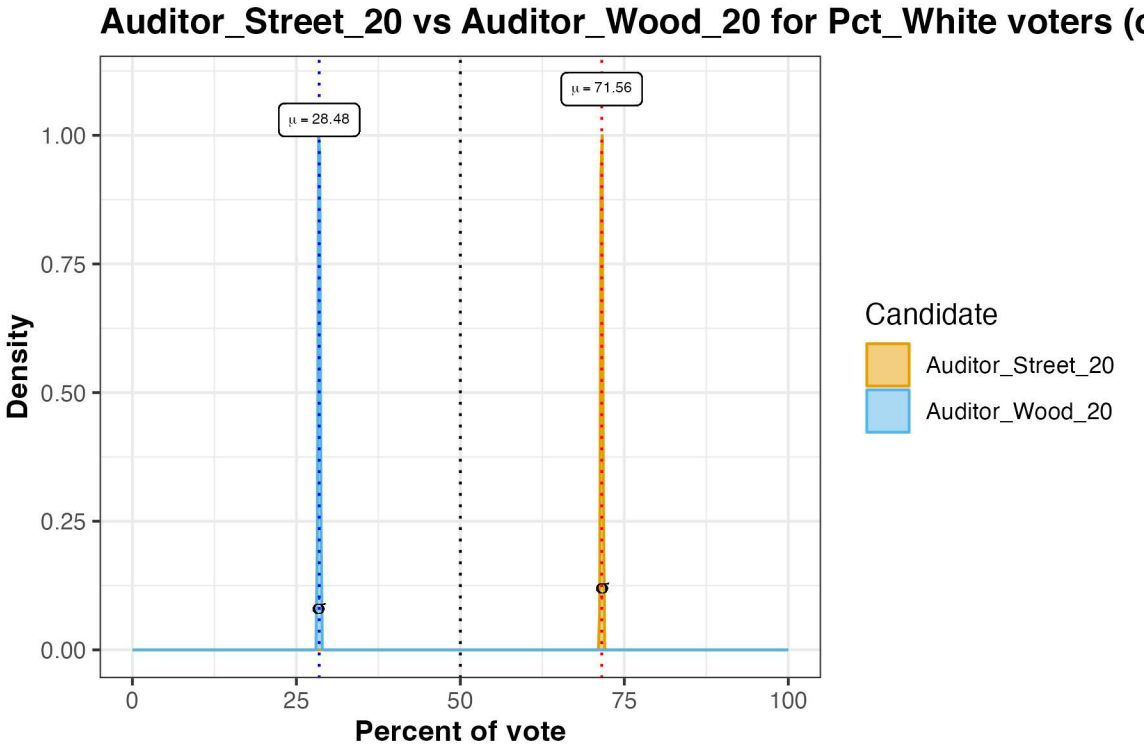
Statewide RPV analysis: Black and white point estimates and confidence intervals

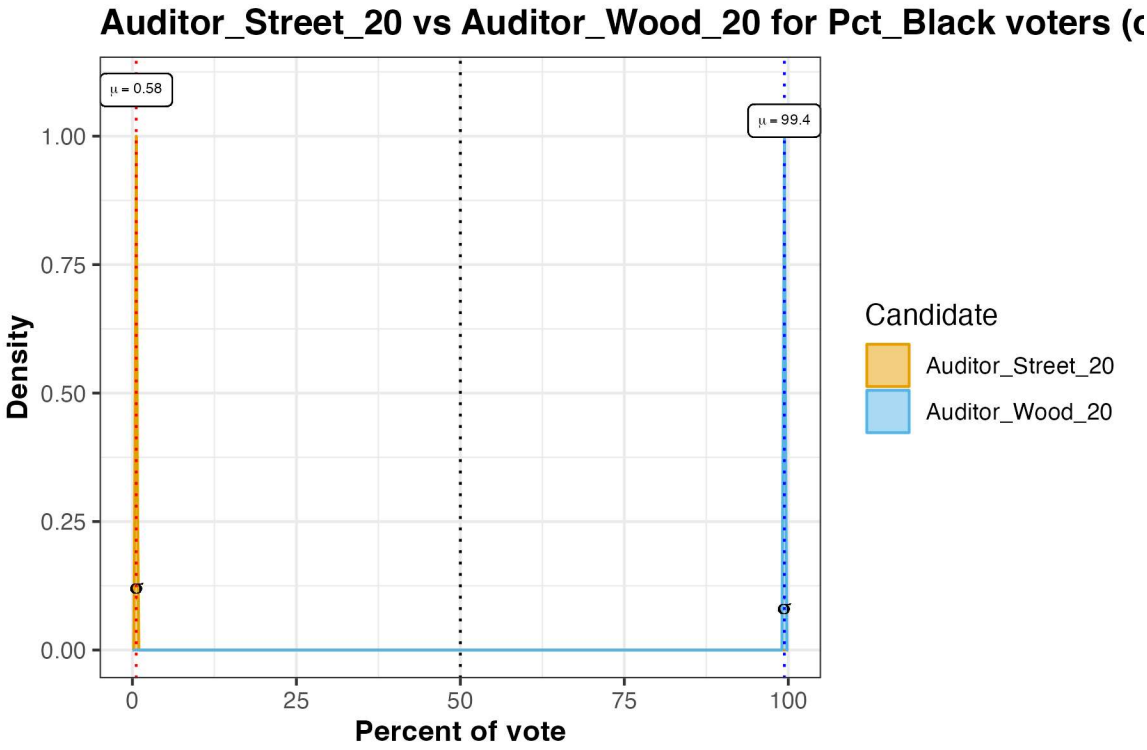


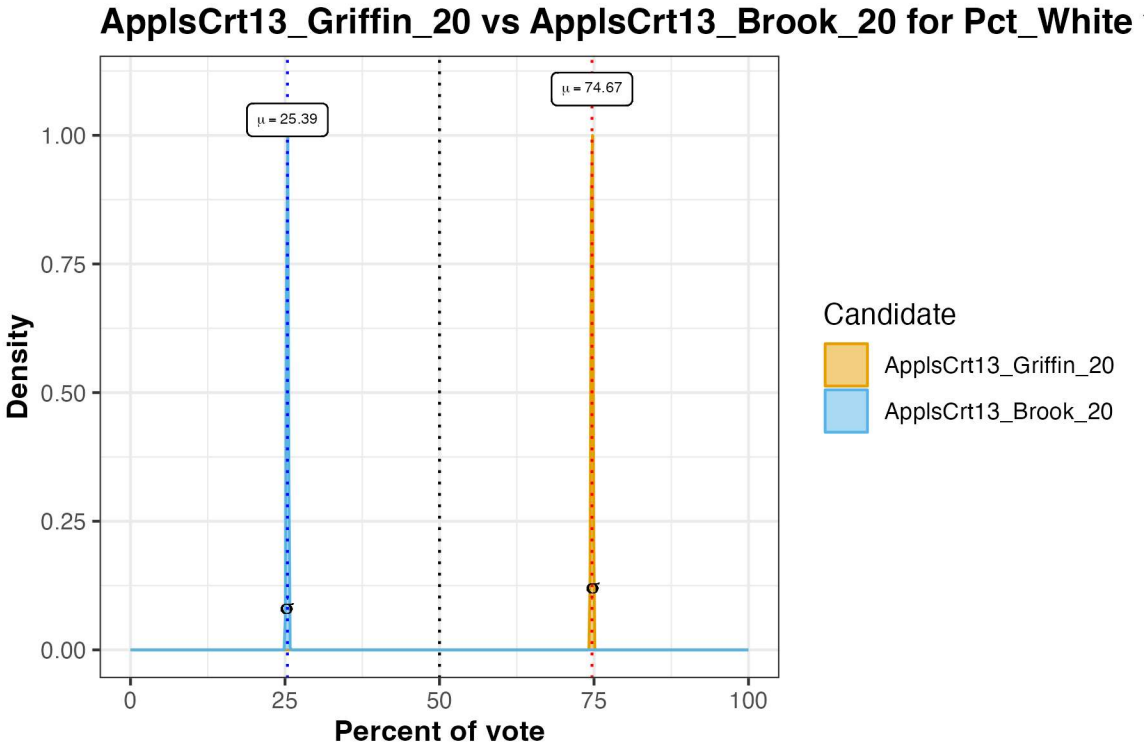


Statewide RPV analysis: Black and white point estimates and confidence intervals

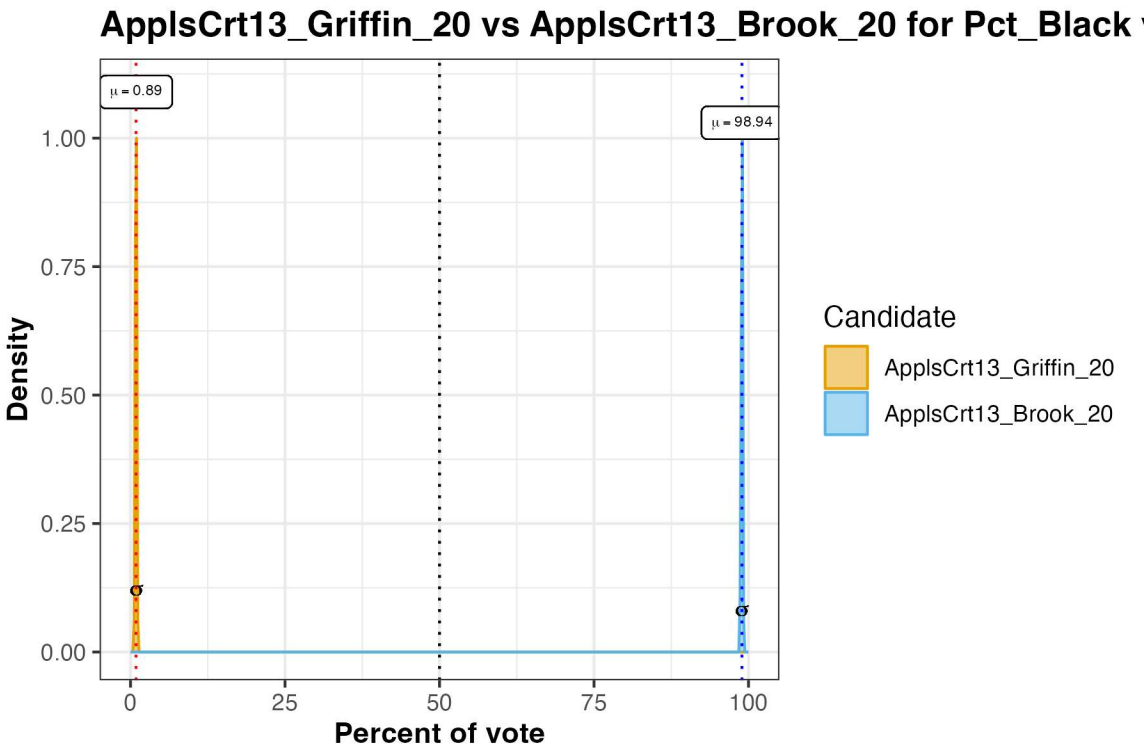


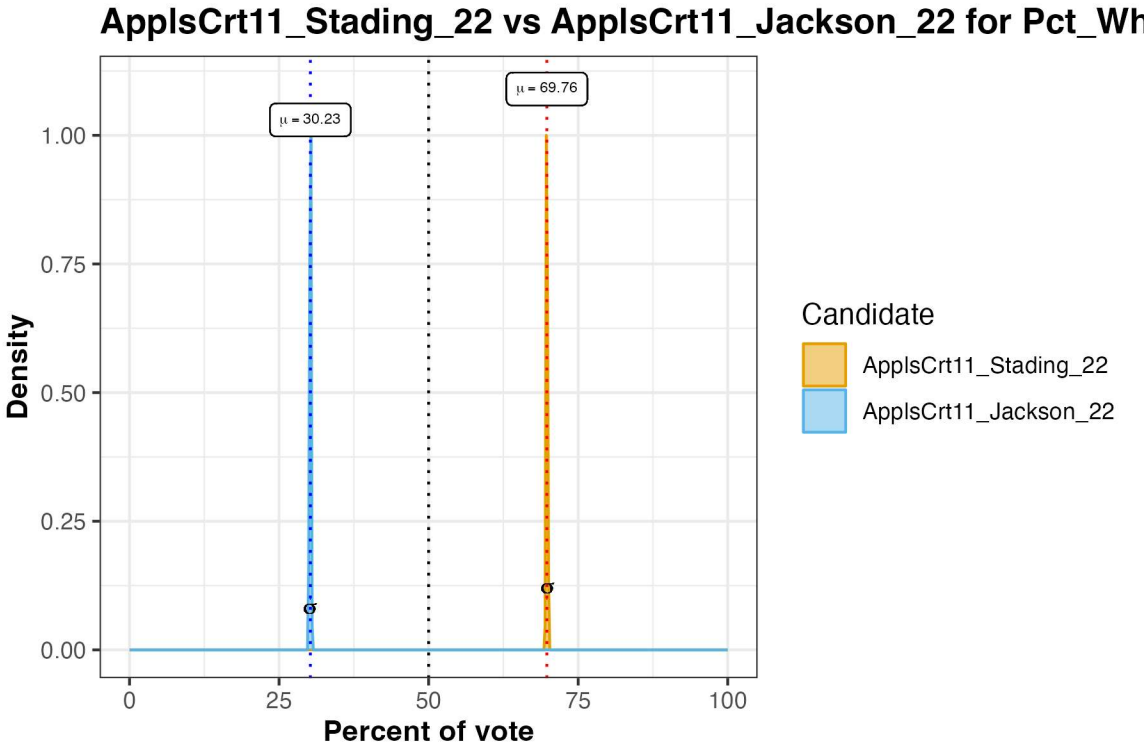



Auditor_Street_20 vs Auditor_Wood_20 for Pct_Black voters (c
μ = 0.58
μ = 99.4
1.00
0.75
0.50
0.25
0.00
Density
0
25
50
75
100
Percent of vote
Candidate
Auditor_Street_20
Auditor_Wood_20

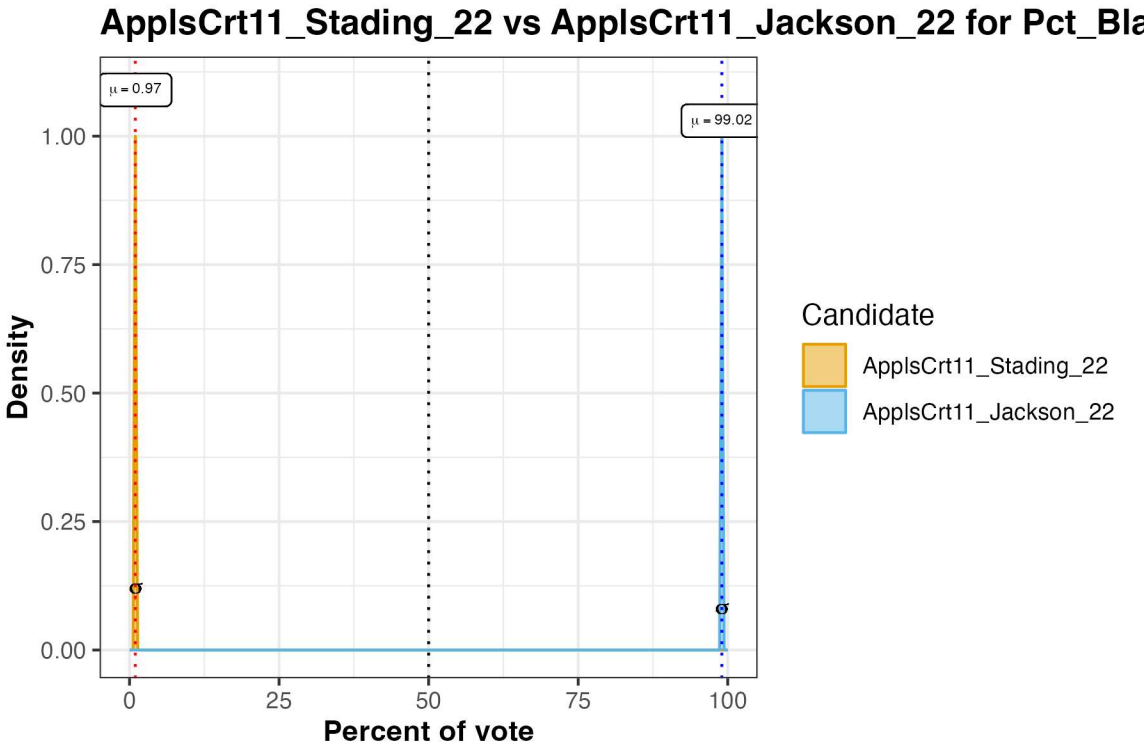

ApplsCrt13_Griffin_20 vs ApplsCrt13_Brook_20 for Pct_White
μ = 25.39
μ = 74.67
1.00
0.75
0.50
0.25
0.00
Density
0
25
50
75
100
Percent of vote
Candidate
ApplsCrt13_Griffin_20
ApplsCrt13_Brook_20

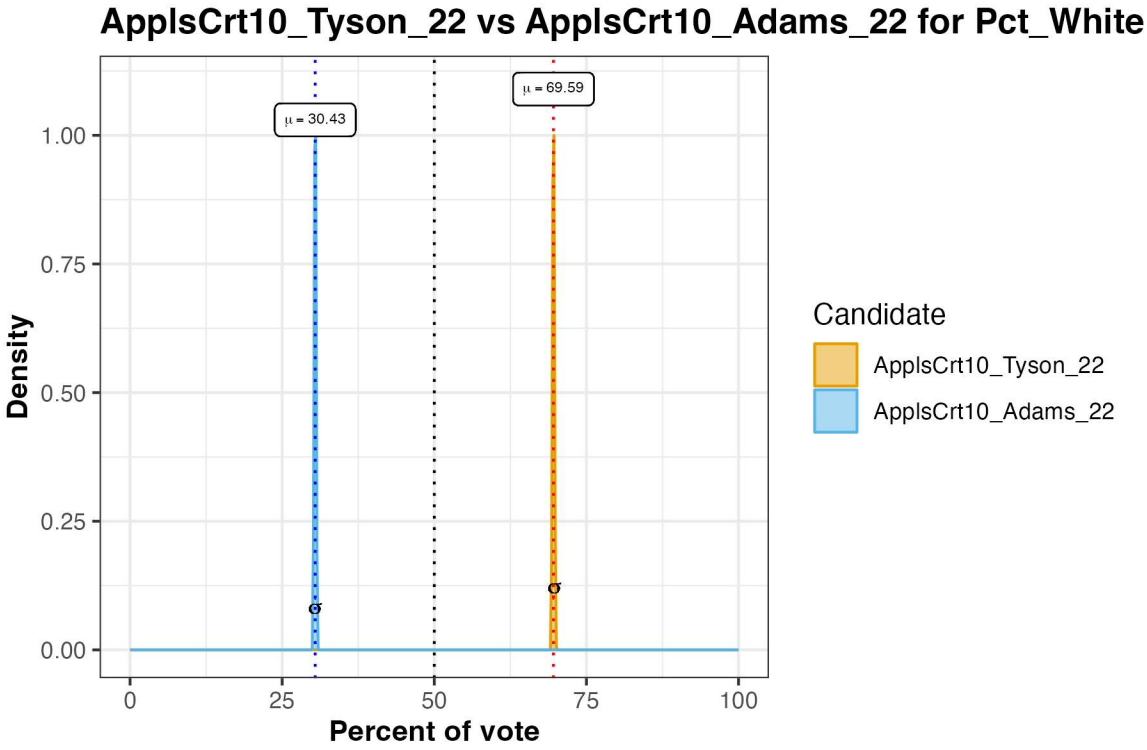
Statewide RPV analysis: Black and white point estimates and confidence intervals



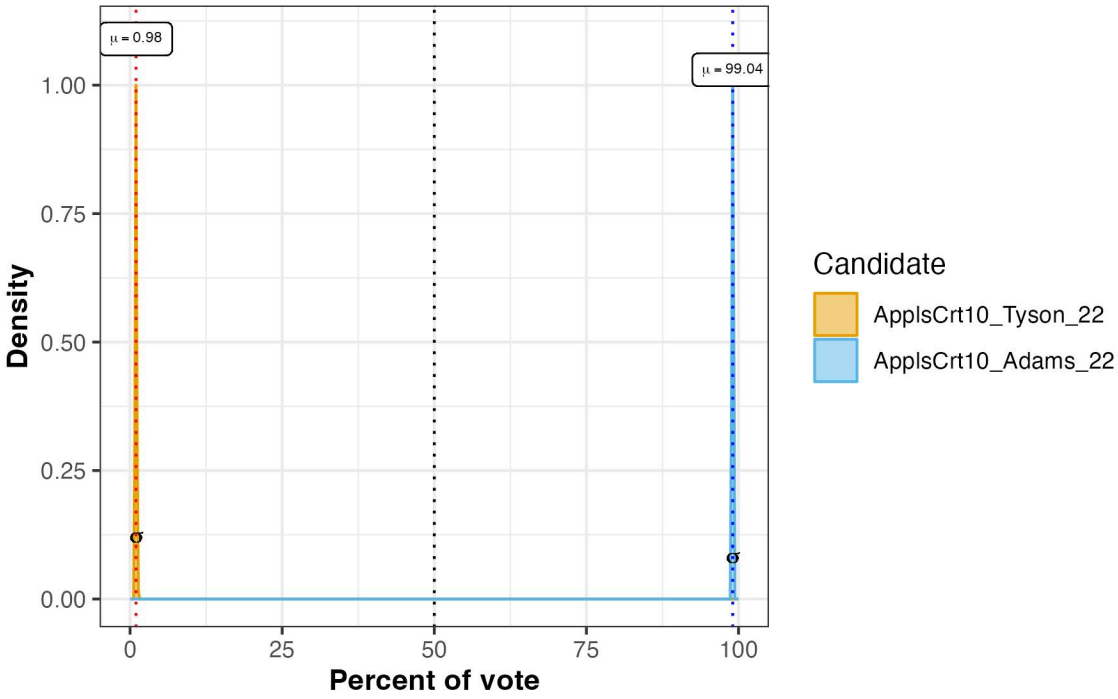


Statewide RPV analysis: Black and white point estimates and confidence intervals

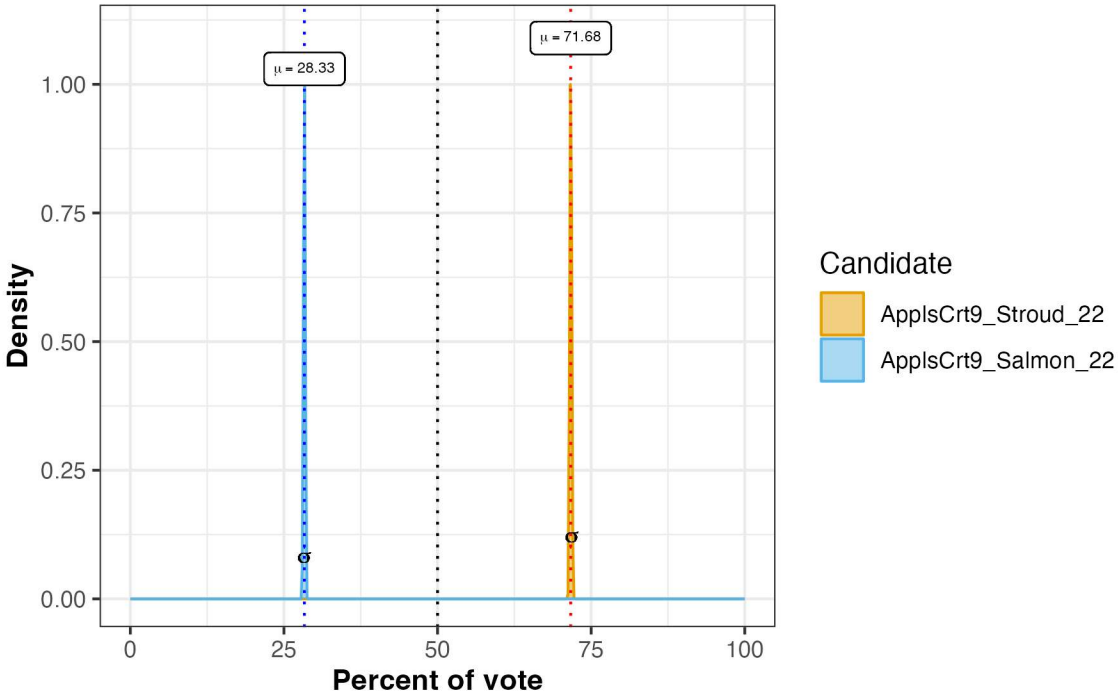




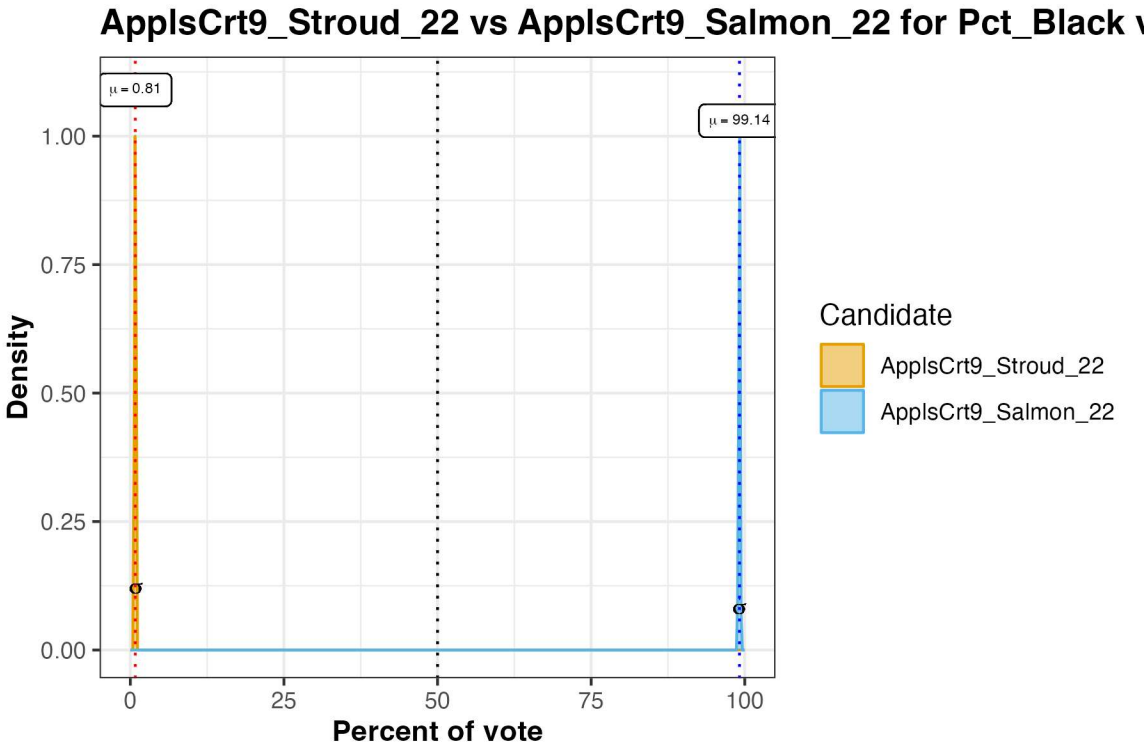
ApplsCrt10_Tyson_22 vs ApplsCrt10_Adams_22 for Pct_Black

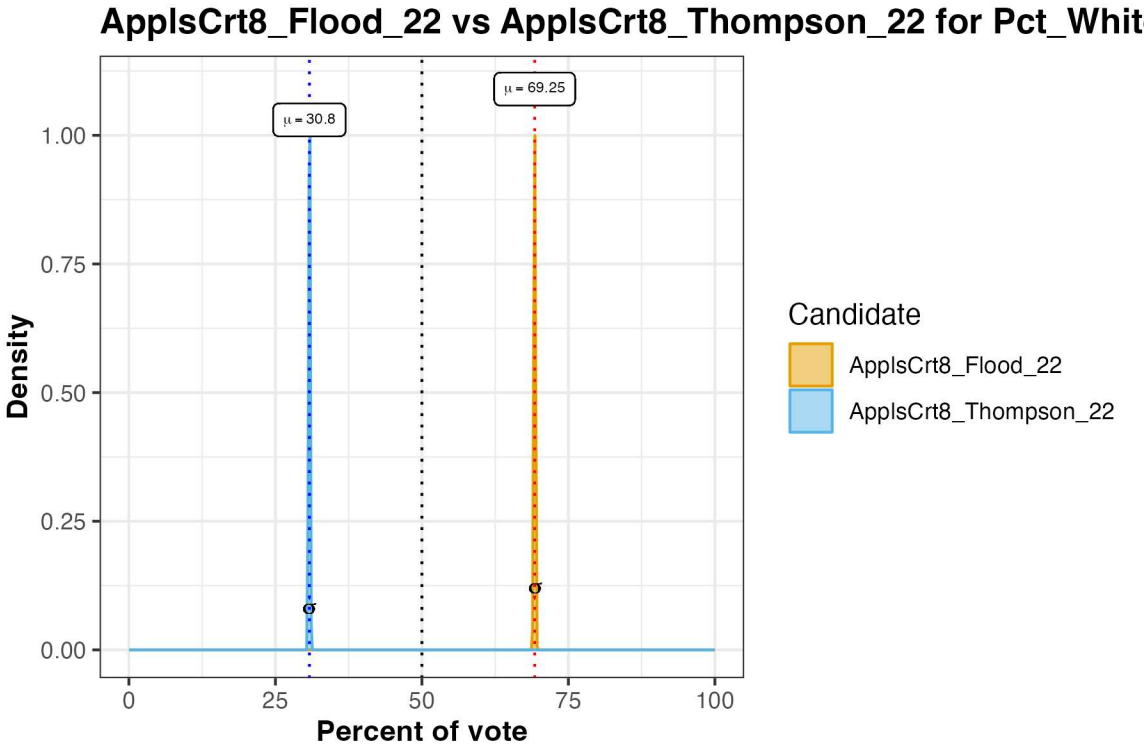


ApplsCrt9_Stroud_22 vs ApplsCrt9_Salmon_22 for Pct_White v

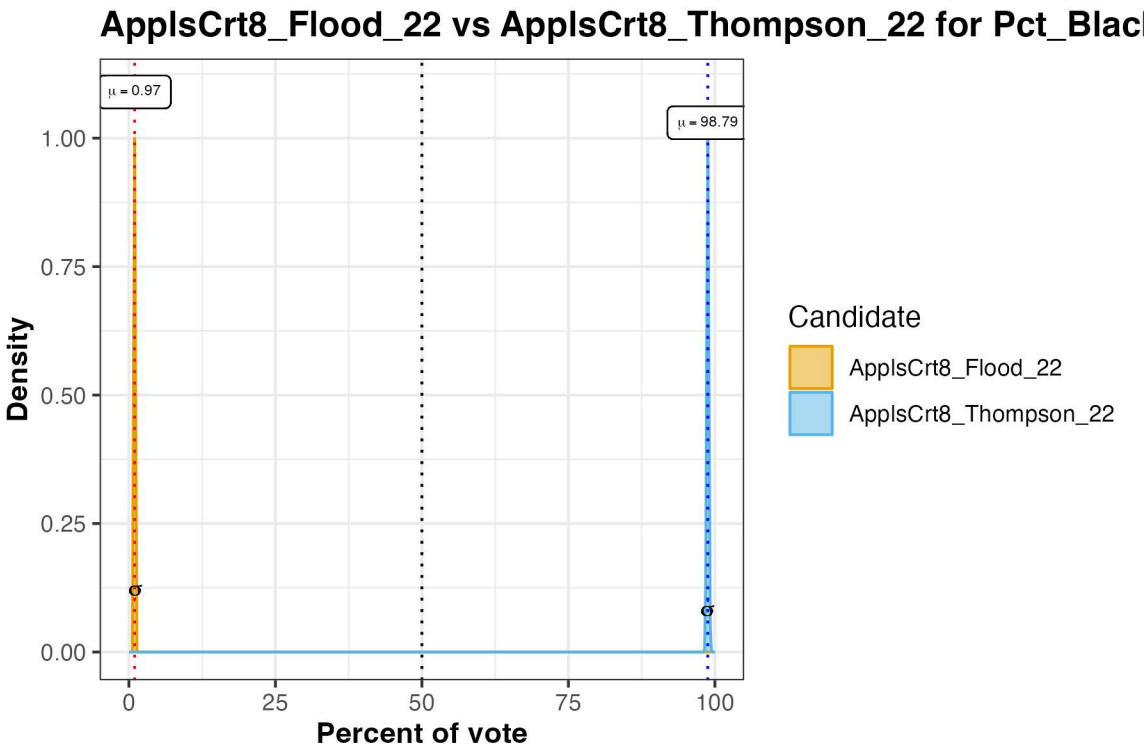


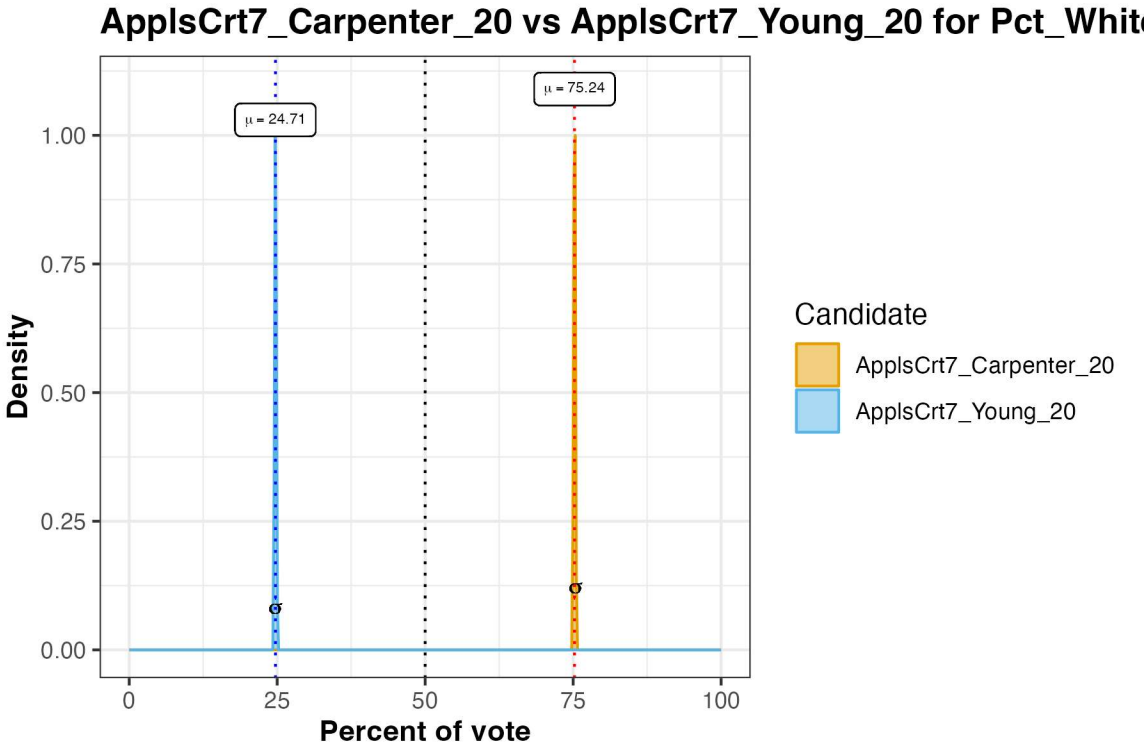
Statewide RPV analysis: Black and white point estimates and confidence intervals



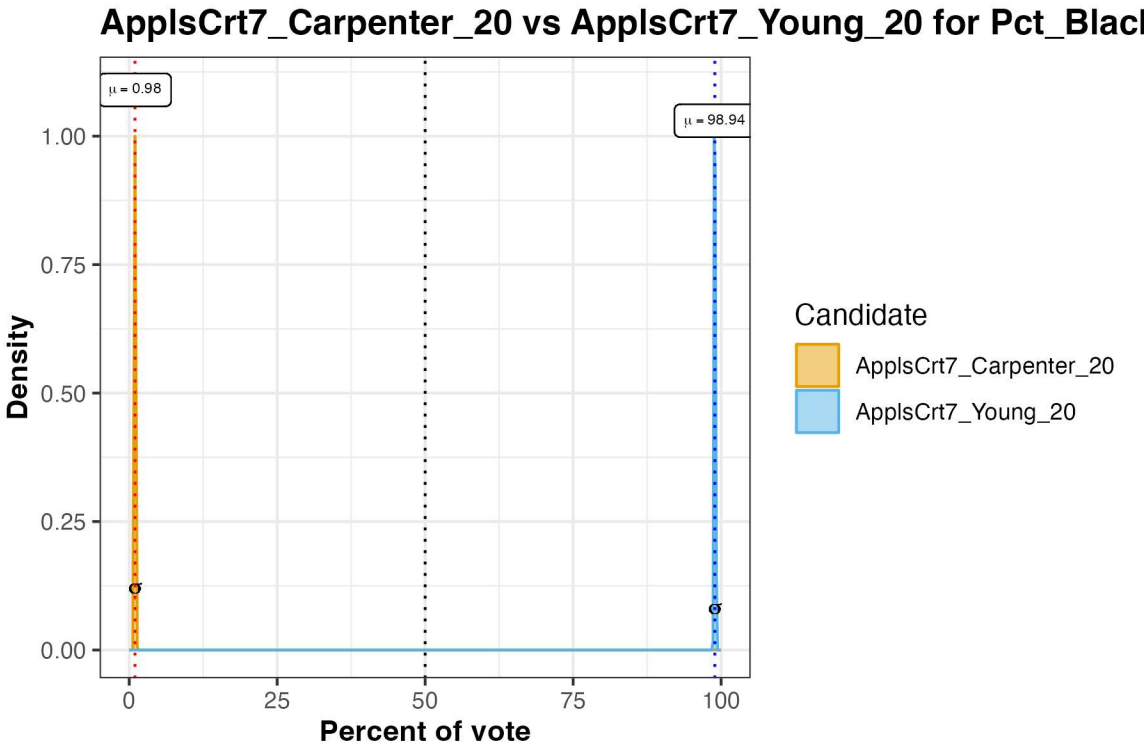


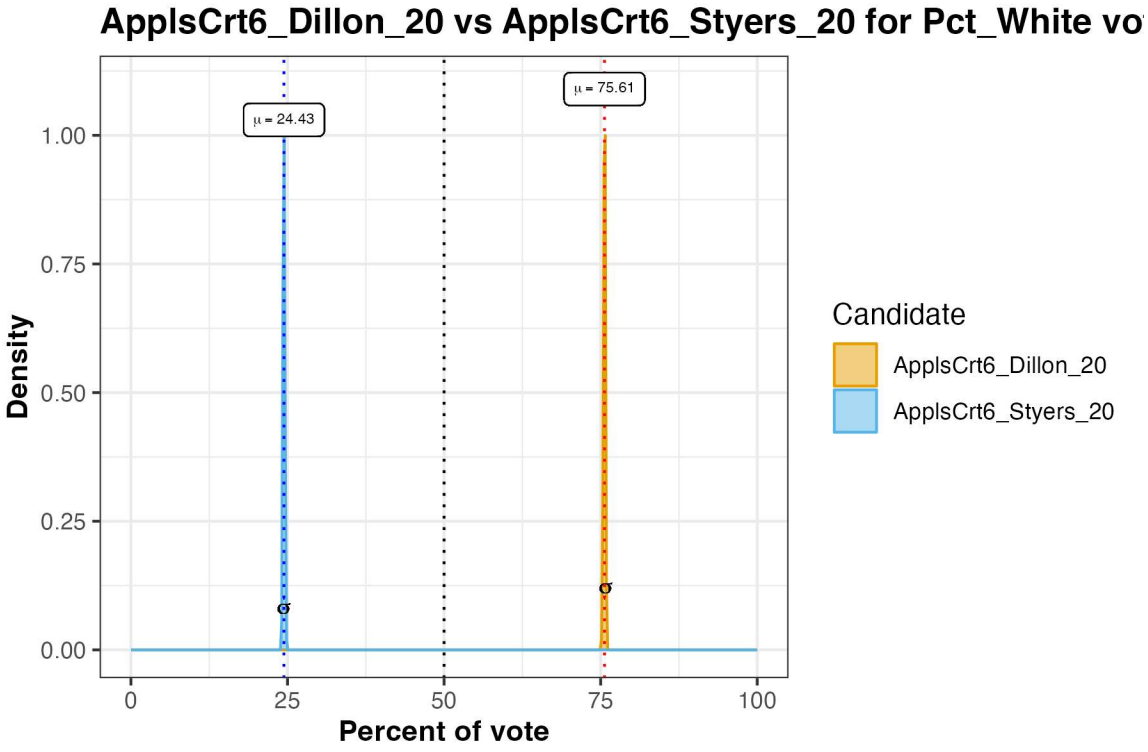
Statewide RPV analysis: Black and white point estimates and confidence intervals

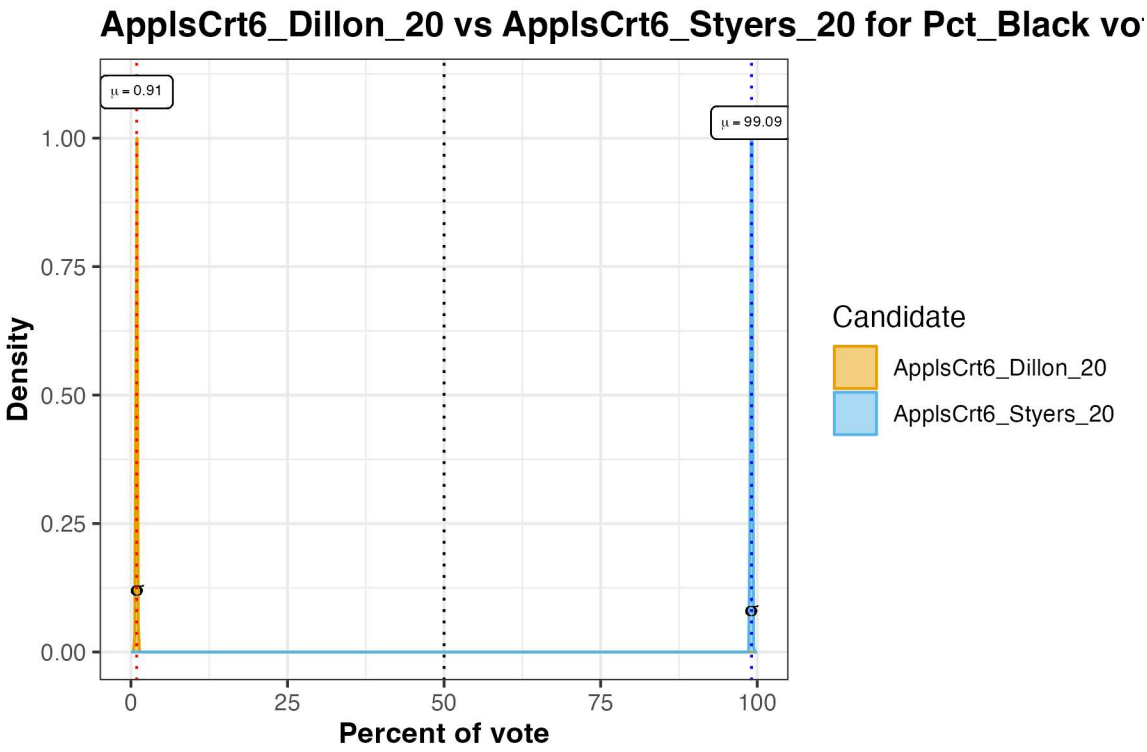


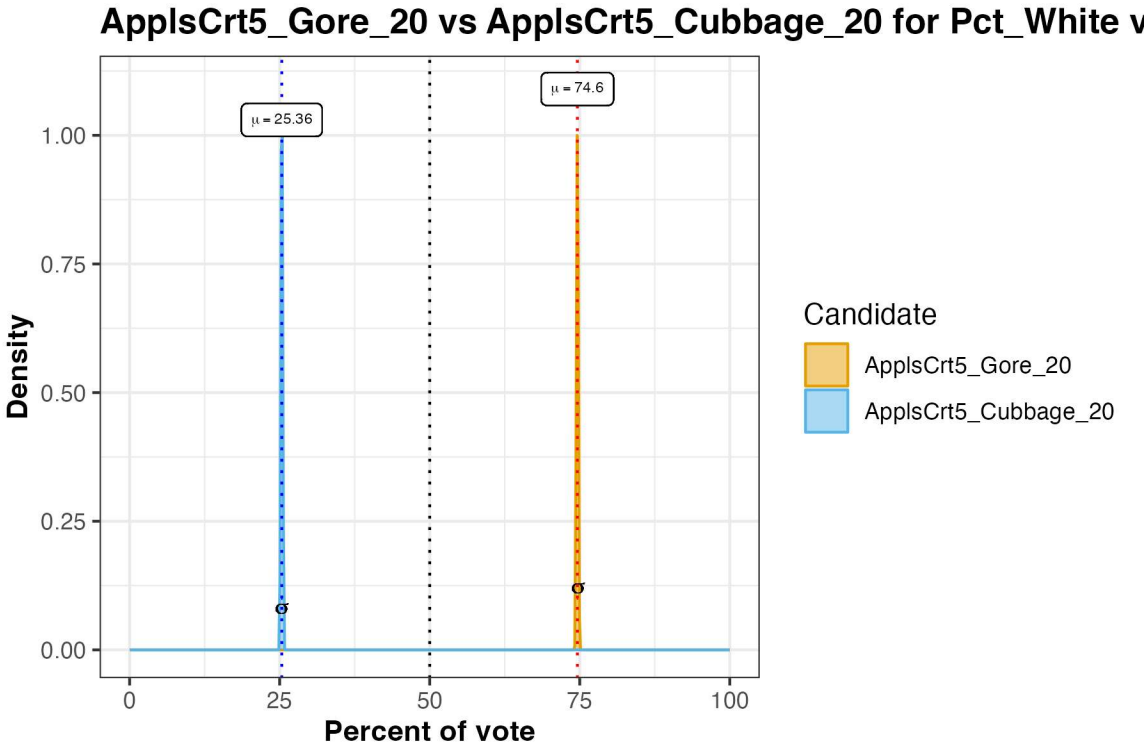


Statewide RPV analysis: Black and white point estimates and confidence intervals

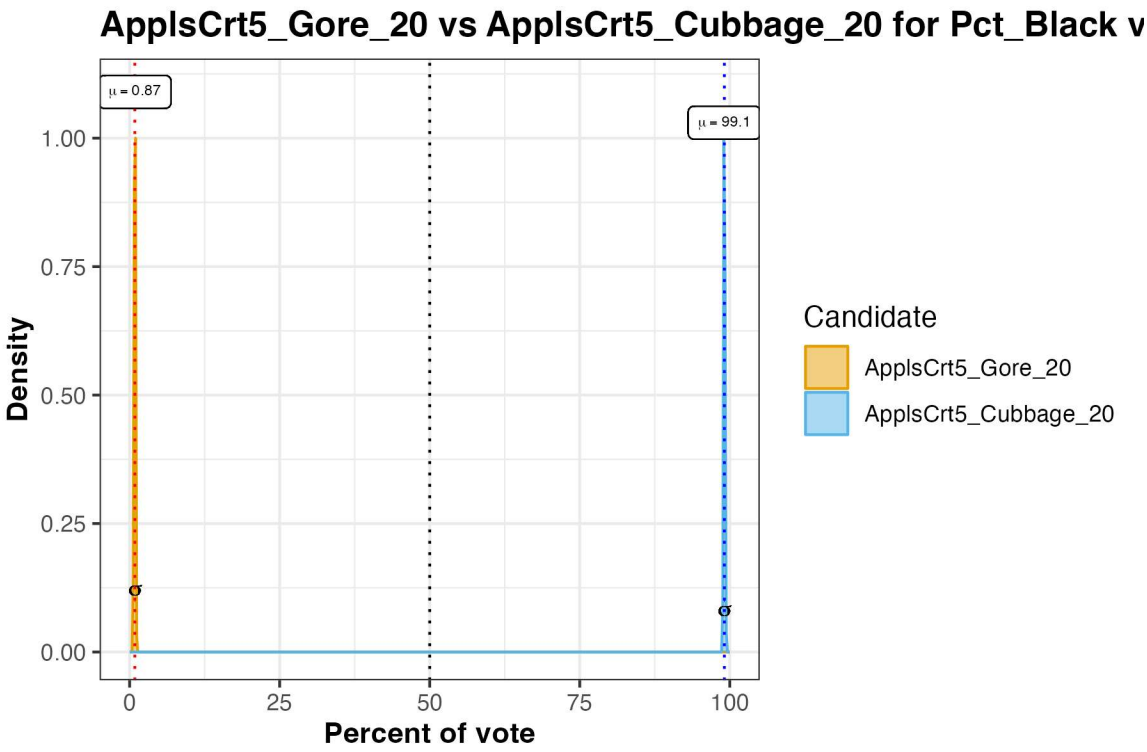


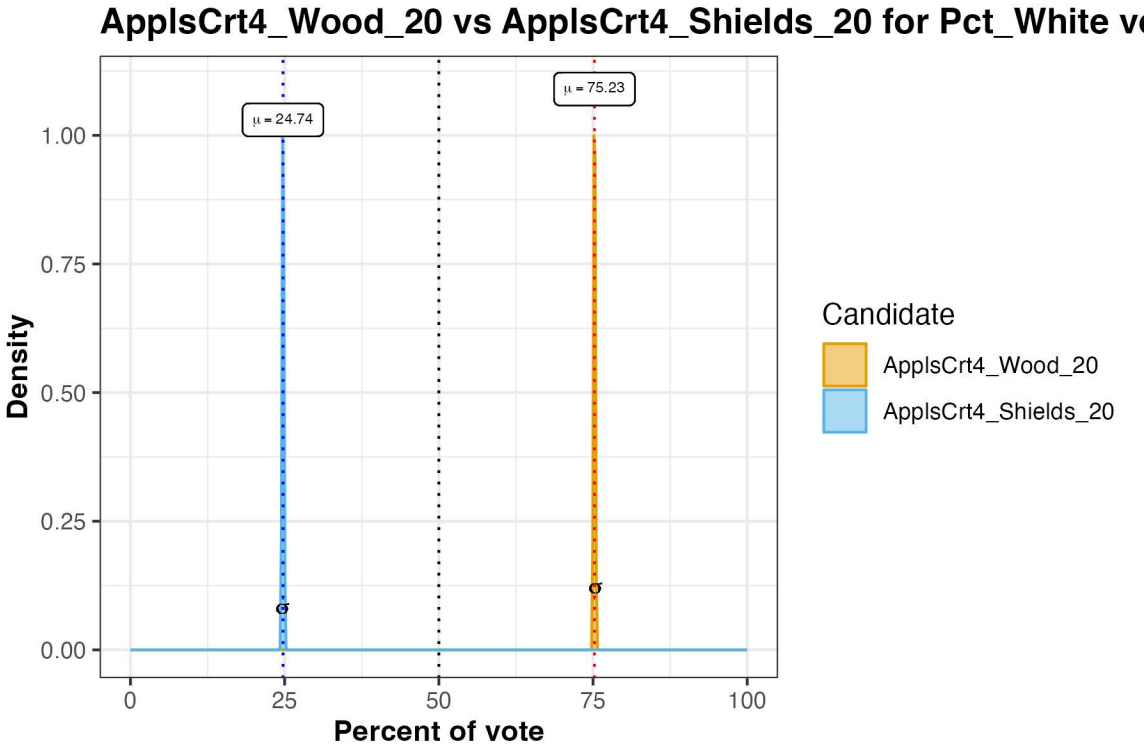


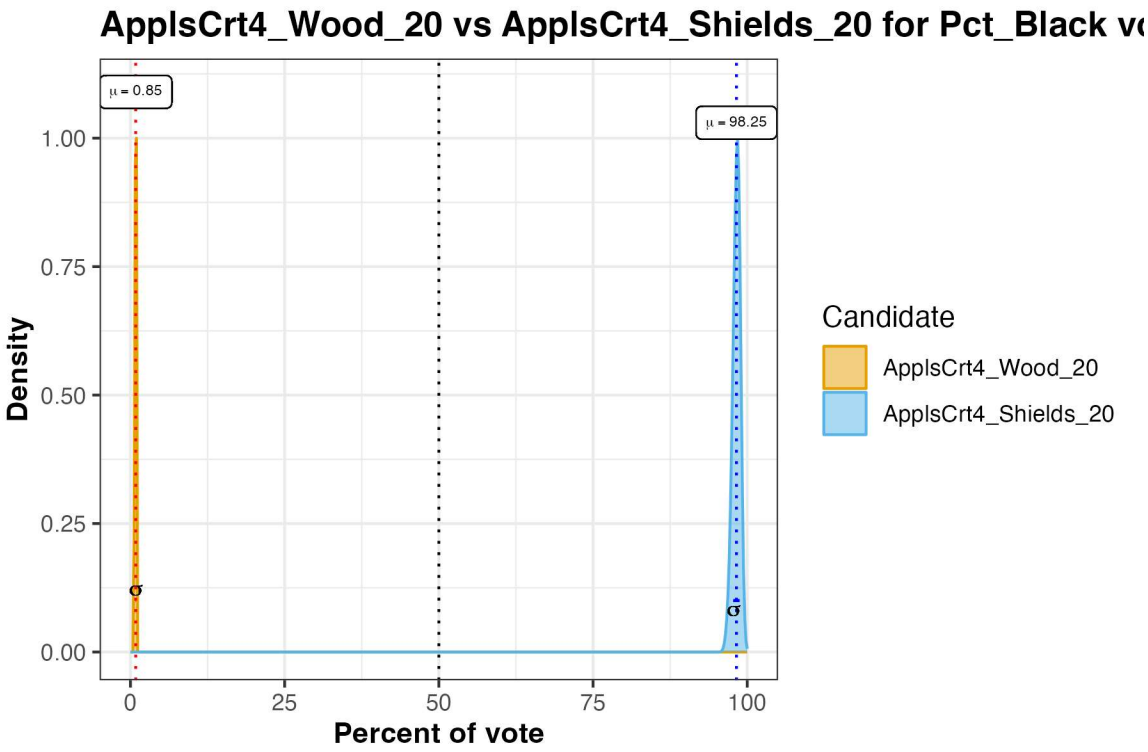

ApplsCrt6_Dillon_20 vs ApplsCrt6_Styers_20 for Pct_Black vo
μ = 0.91
μ = 99.09
σ
σ
1.00
0.75
0.50
0.25
0.00
Density
0
25
50
75
100
Percent of vote
Candidate
ApplsCrt6_Dillon_20
ApplsCrt6_Styers_20

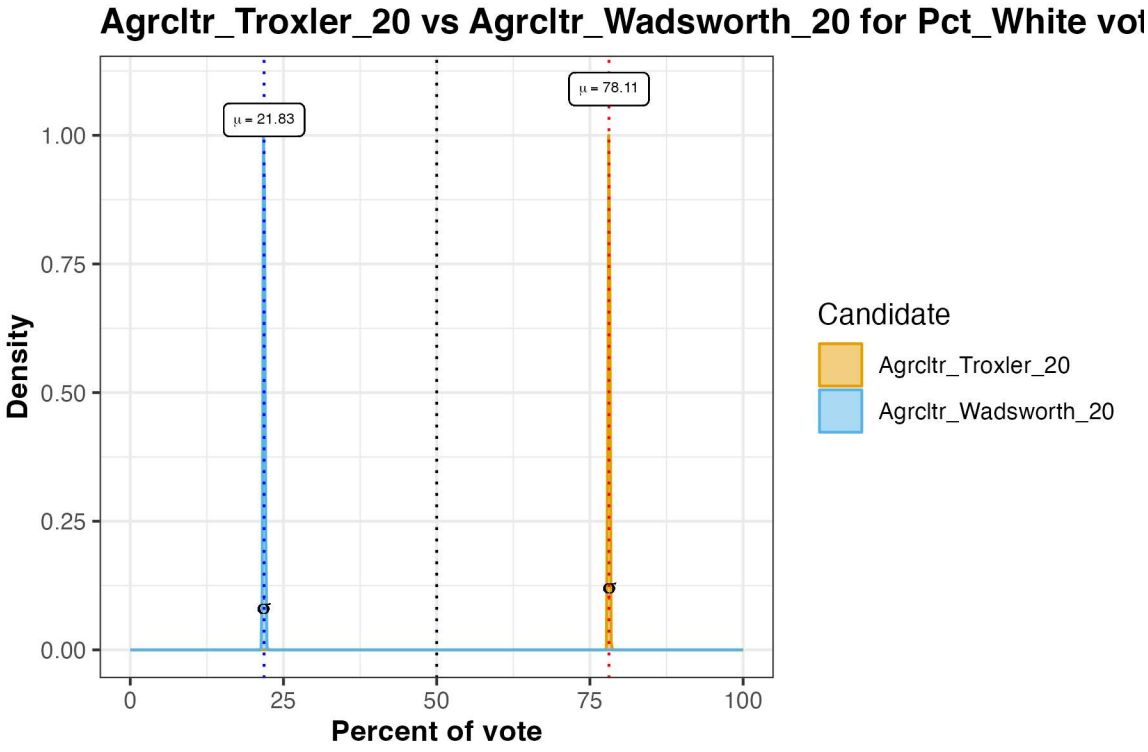

ApplsCrt5_Gore_20 vs ApplsCrt5_Cubbage_20 for Pct_White v
μ = 25.36
μ = 74.6
σ
σ
1.00
0.75
0.50
0.25
0.00
Density
0
25
50
75
100
Percent of vote
Candidate
ApplsCrt5_Gore_20
ApplsCrt5_Cubbage_20

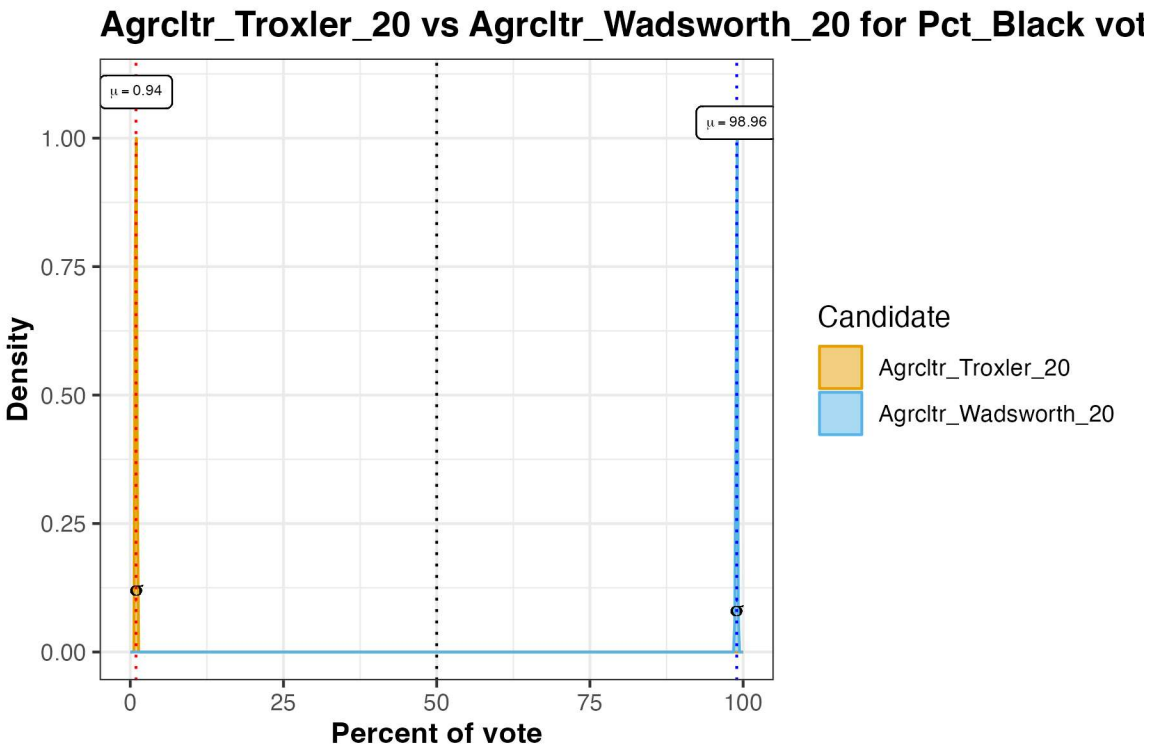
Statewide RPV analysis: Black and white point estimates and confidence intervals

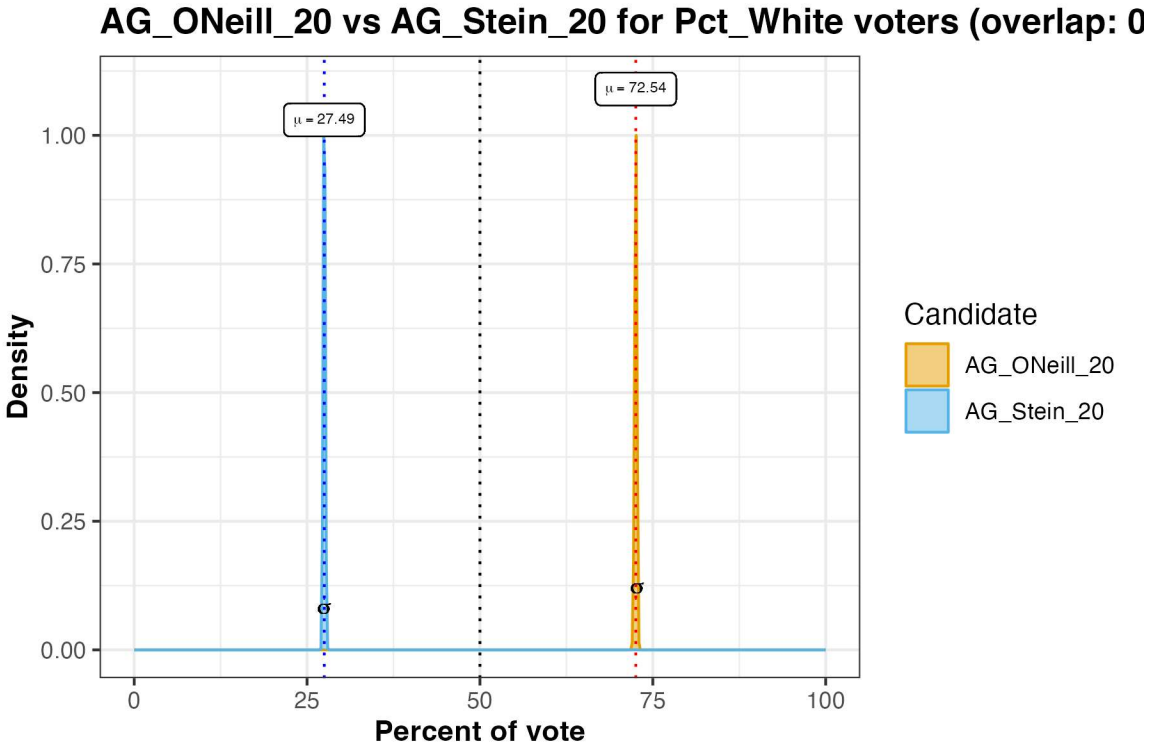




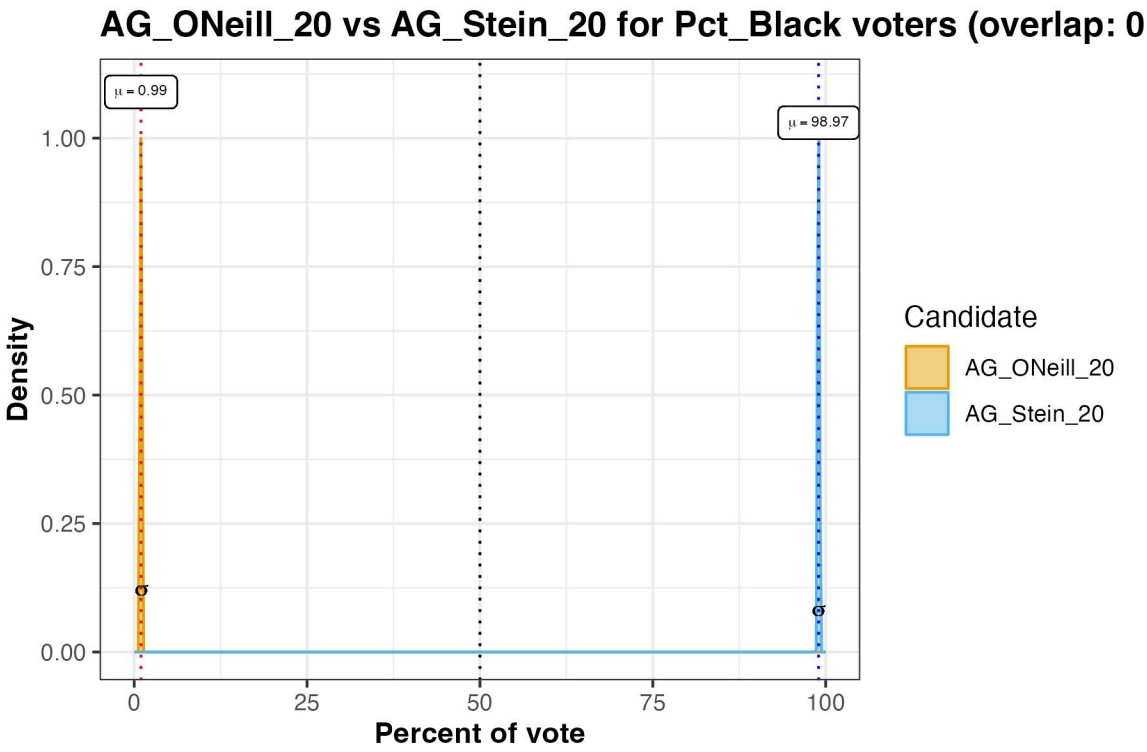

ApplsCrt4_Wood_20 vs ApplsCrt4_Shields_20 for Pct_Black v
μ = 0.85
μ = 98.25
σ
σ
Density
1.00
0.75
0.50
0.25
0.00
0
25
50
75
100
Percent of vote
Candidate
ApplsCrt4_Wood_20
ApplsCrt4_Shields_20


Agrcltr_Troxler_20 vs Agrcltr_Wadsworth_20 for Pct_White vot
μ = 21.83
μ = 78.11
σ
σ
Density
1.00
0.75
0.50
0.25
0.00
0
25
50
75
100
Percent of vote
Candidate
Agrcltr_Troxler_20
Agrcltr_Wadsworth_20


Agrcltr_Troxler_20 vs Agrcltr_Wadsworth_20 for Pct_Black vot
μ = 0.94
μ = 98.96
1.00
0.75
0.50
0.25
0.00
Density
σ
σ
0
25
50
75
100
Percent of vote
Candidate
Agrcltr_Troxler_20
Agrcltr_Wadsworth_20

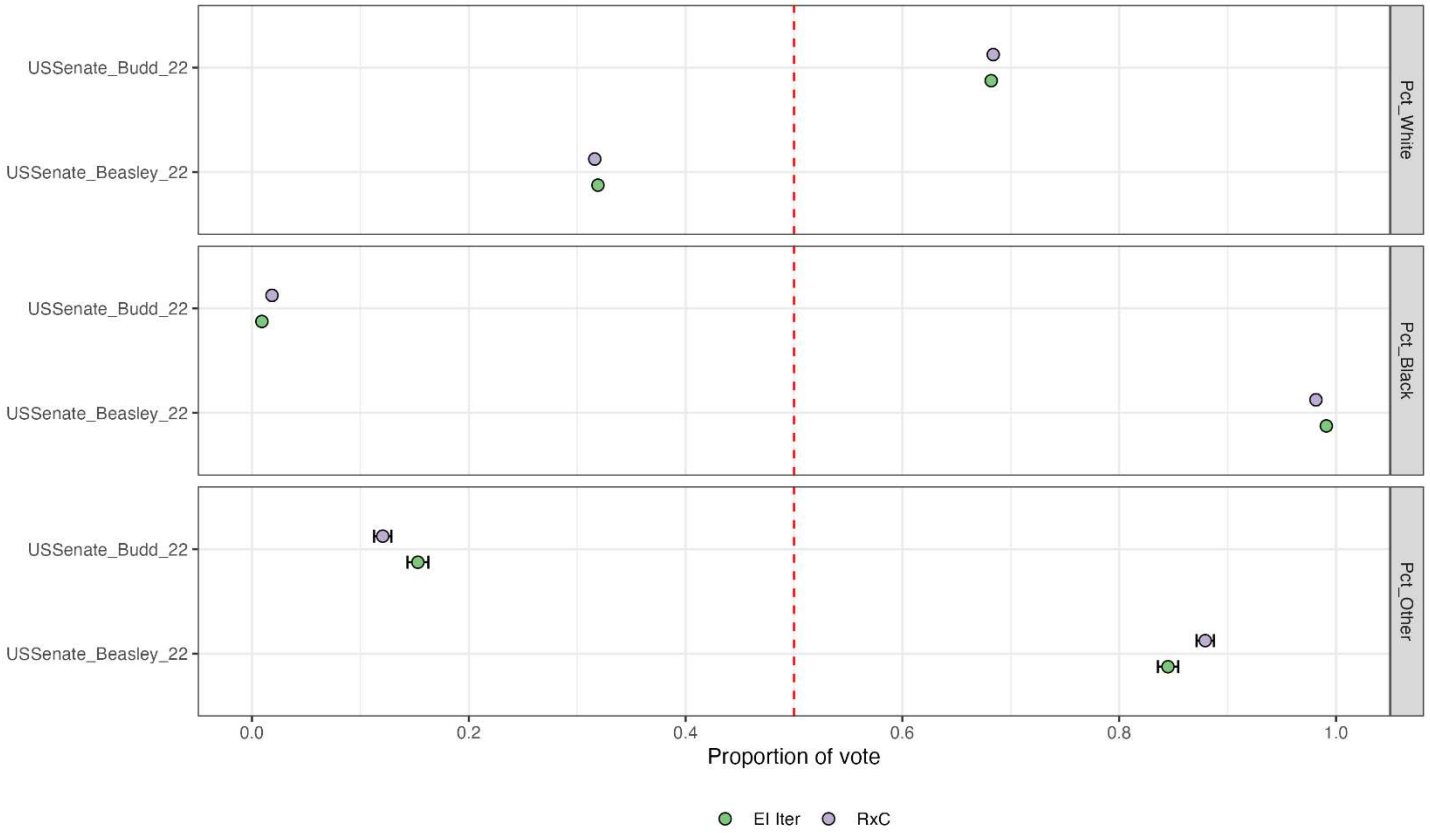

AG_ONeill_20 vs AG_Stein_20 for Pct_White voters (overlap: 0
μ = 27.49
μ = 72.54
1.00
0.75
0.50
0.25
0.00
Density
σ
σ
0
25
50
75
100
Percent of vote
Candidate
AG_ONeill_20
AG_Stein_20

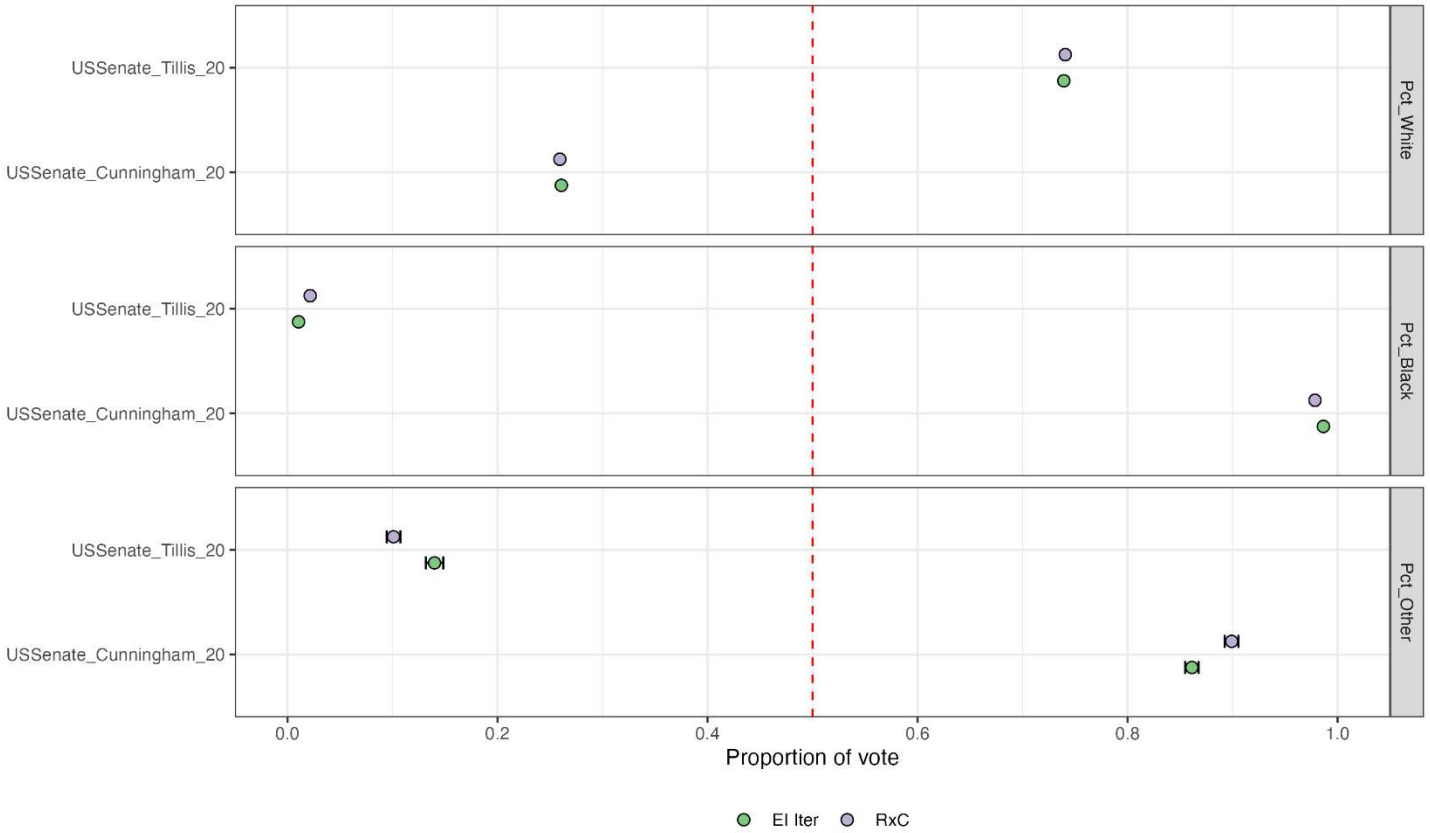
Statewide RPV analysis: Black and white point estimates and confidence intervals



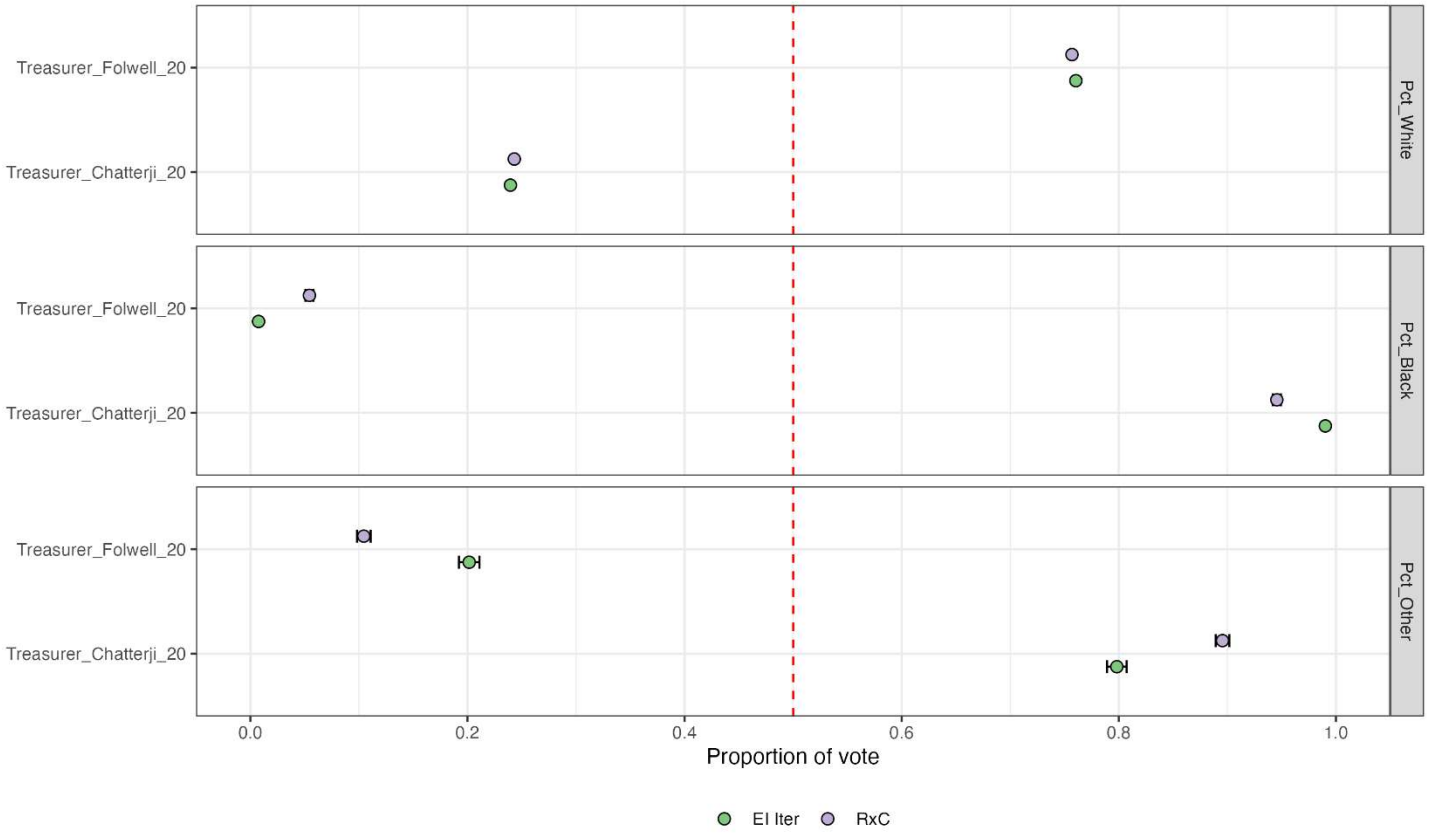
eiCompare TIE Fighter Plots

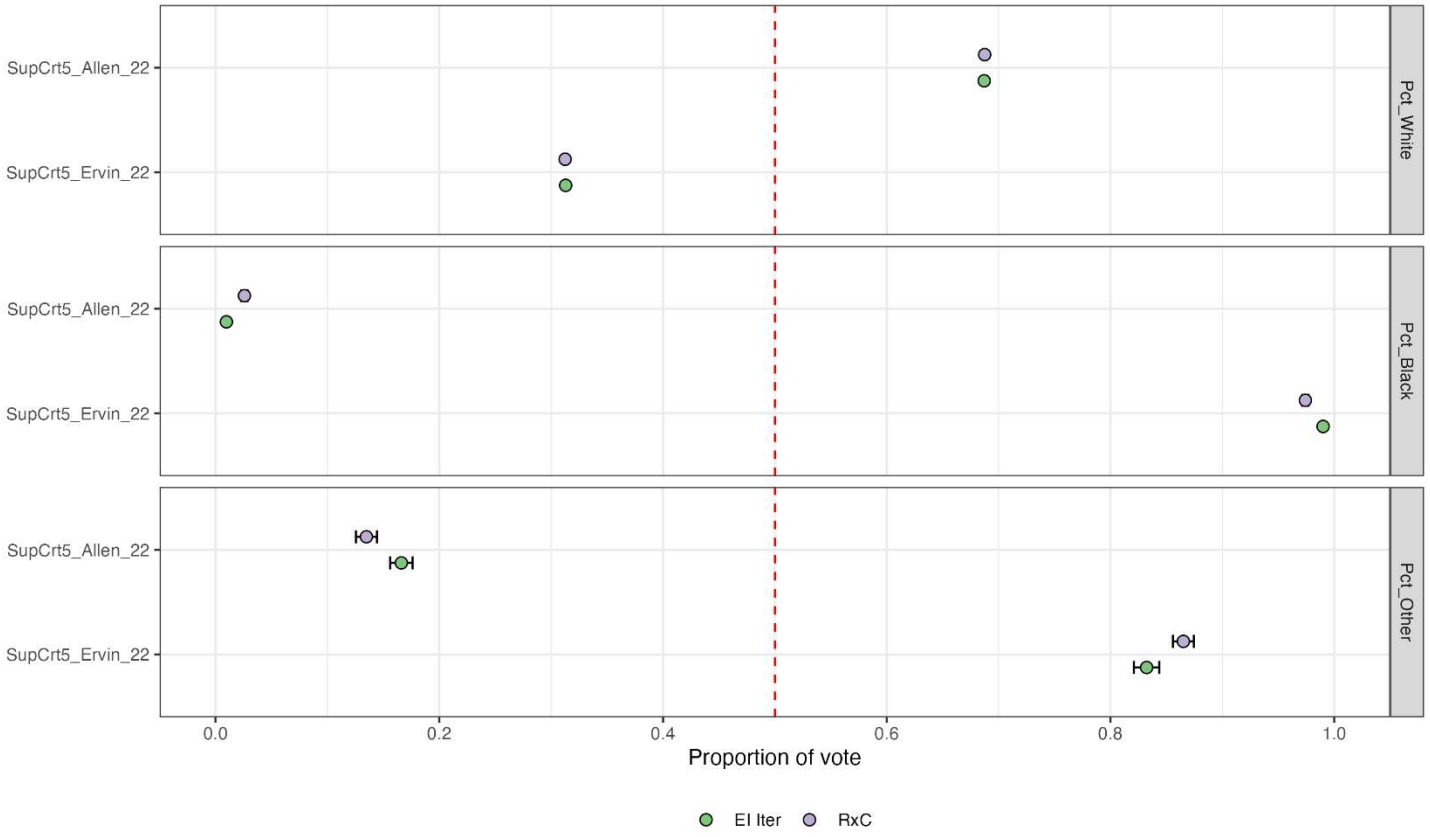
Statewide RPV analysis: Black and white point estimates and confidence intervals



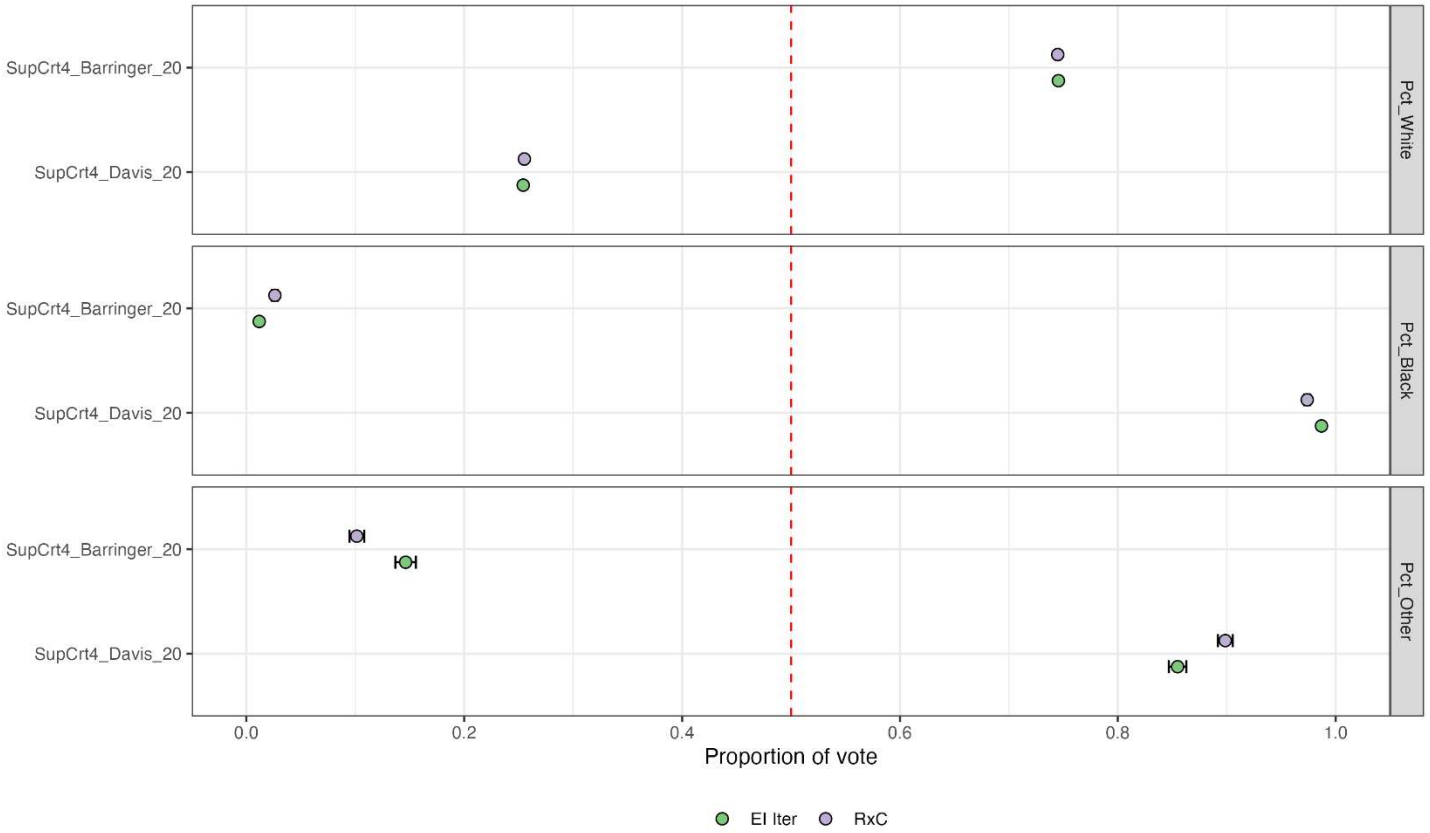


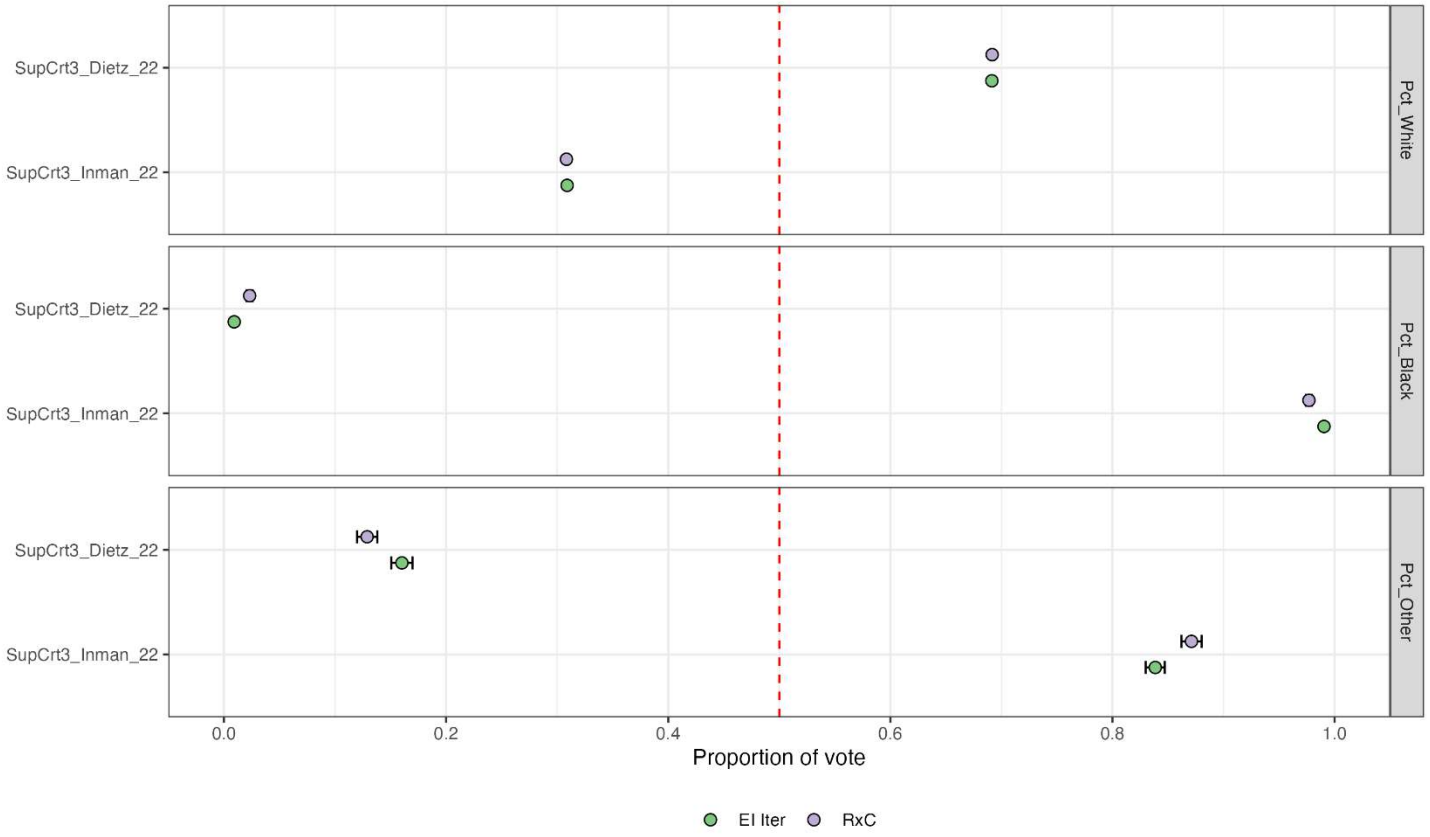
Statewide RPV analysis: Black and white point estimates and confidence intervals



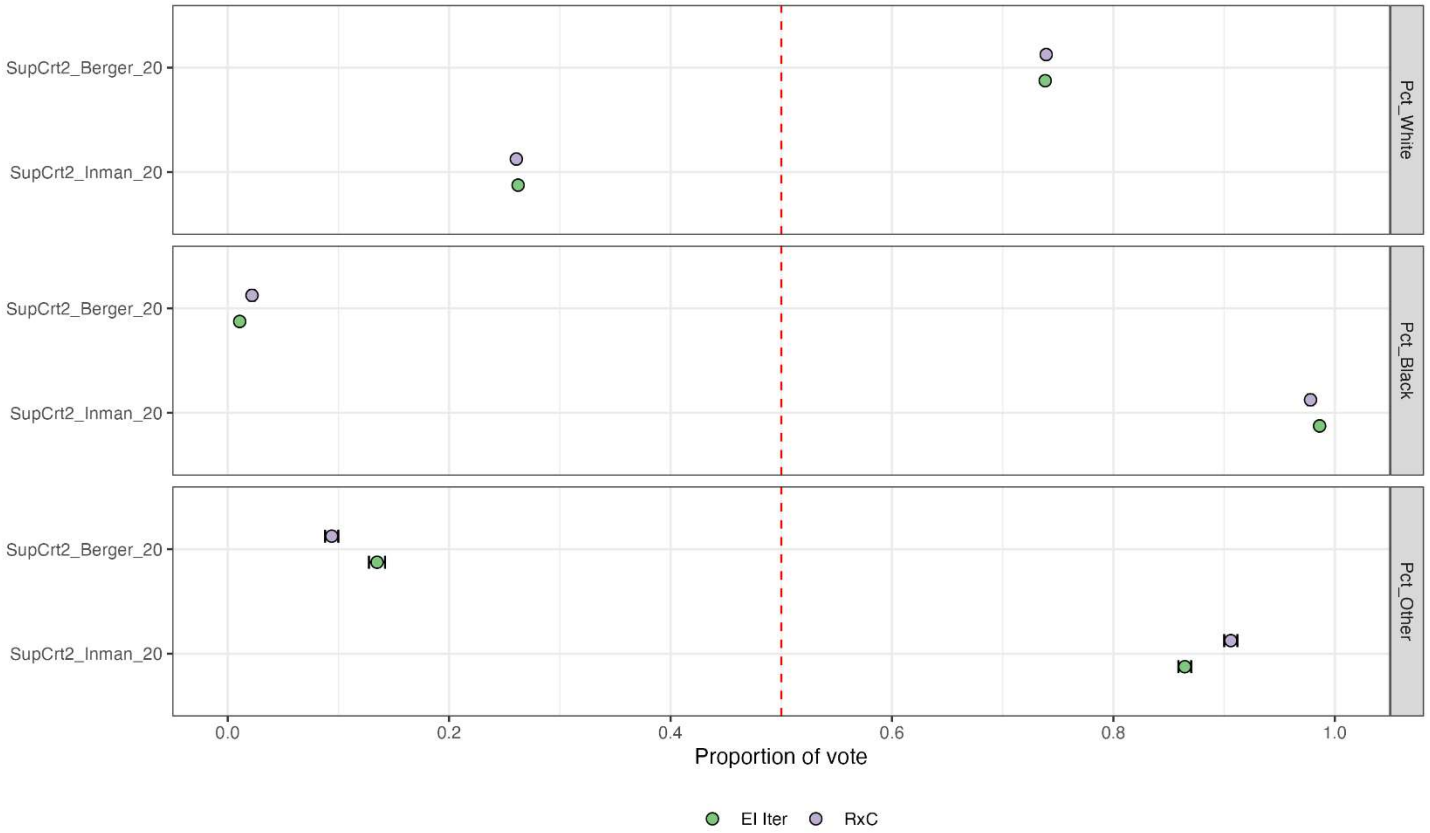


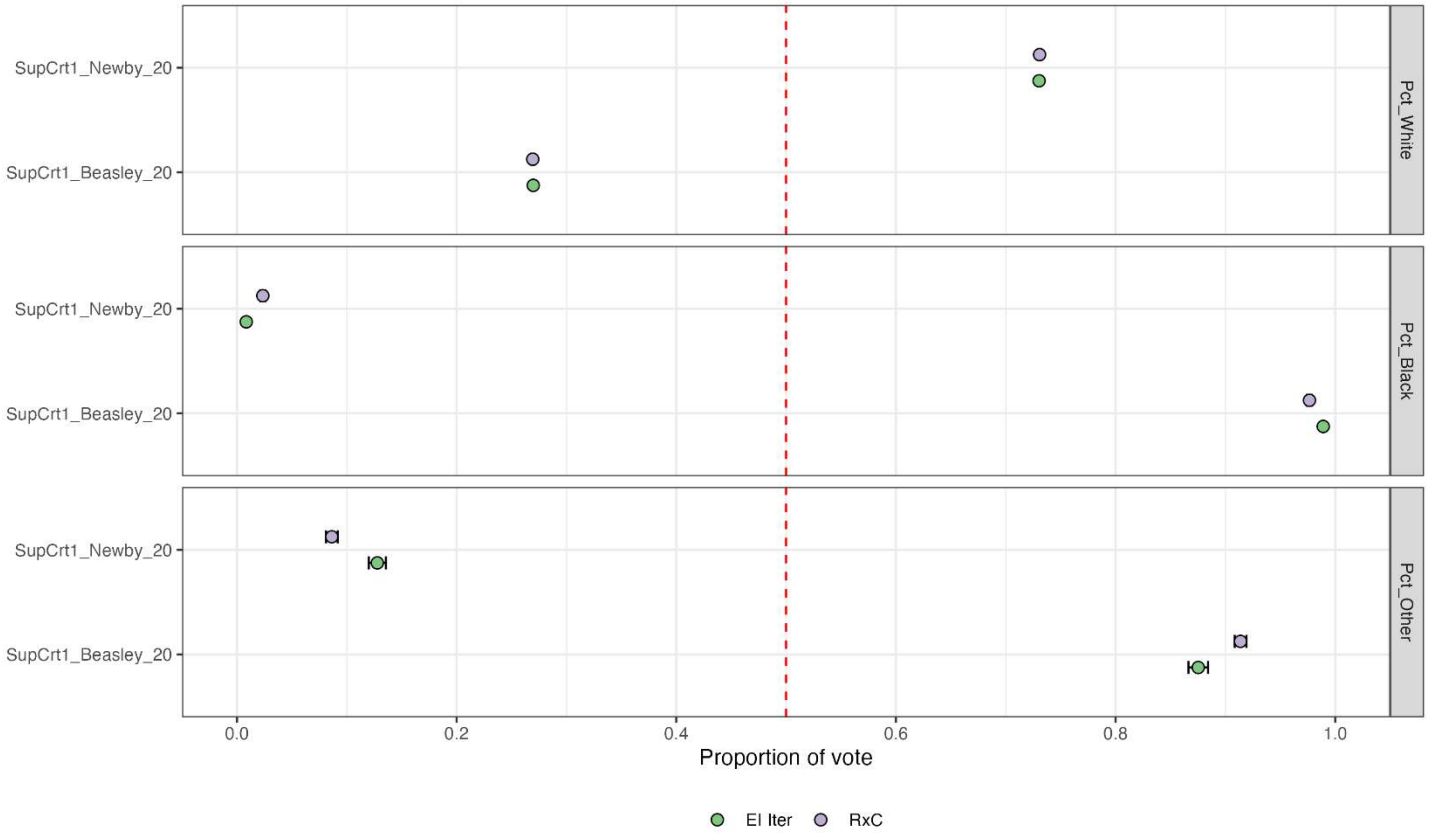
Statewide RPV analysis: Black and white point estimates and confidence intervals



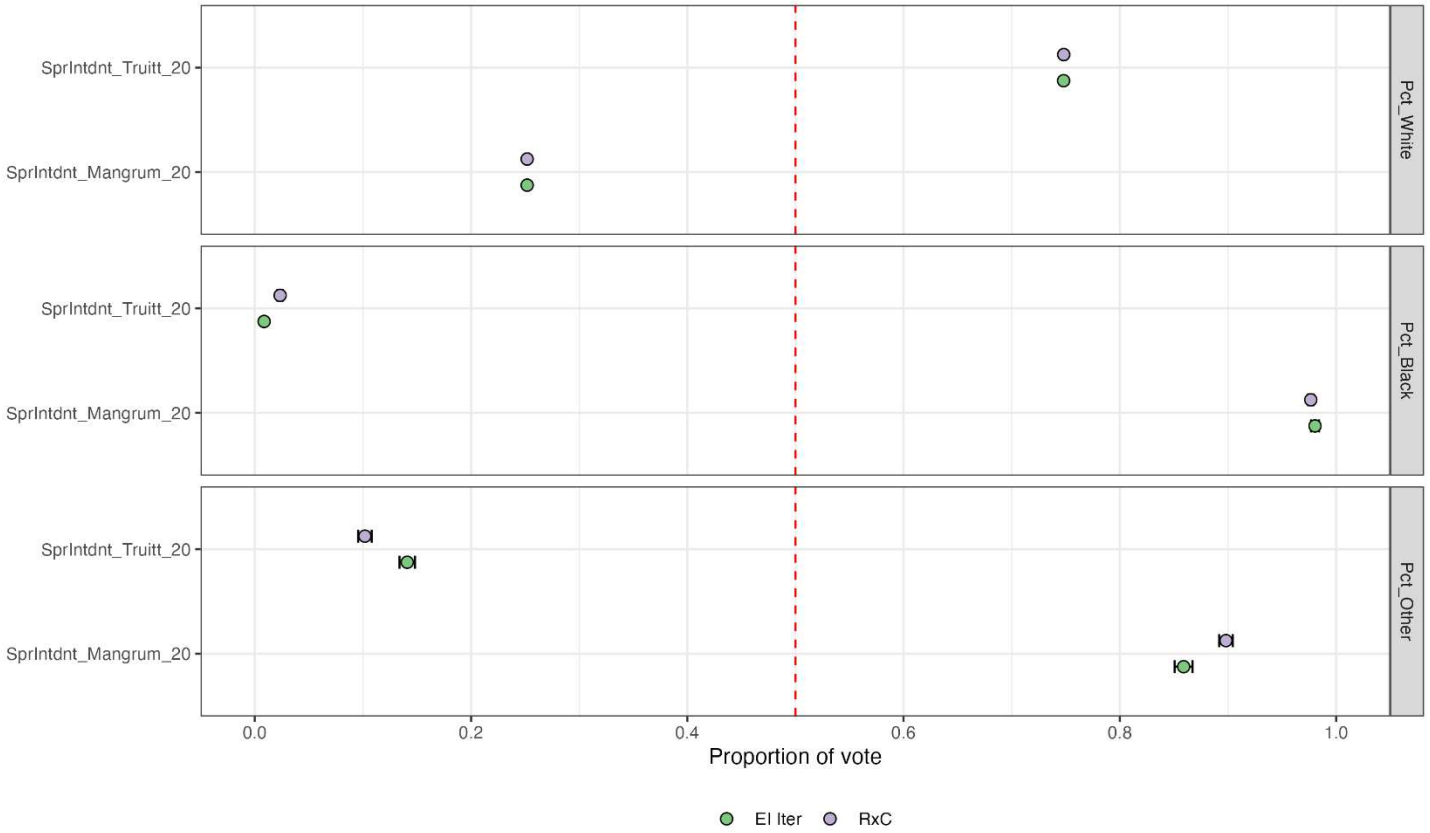


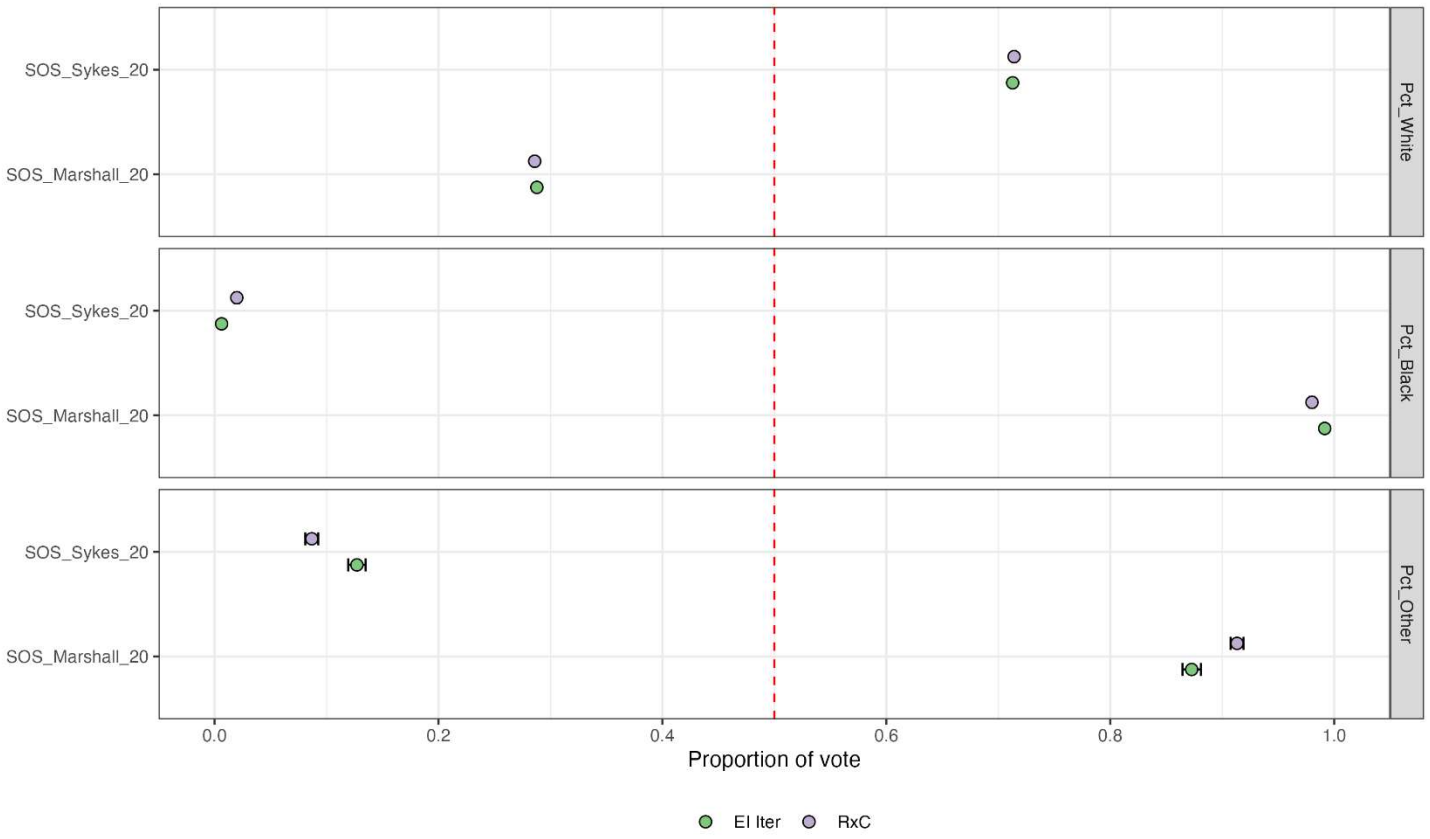
Statewide RPV analysis: Black and white point estimates and confidence intervals



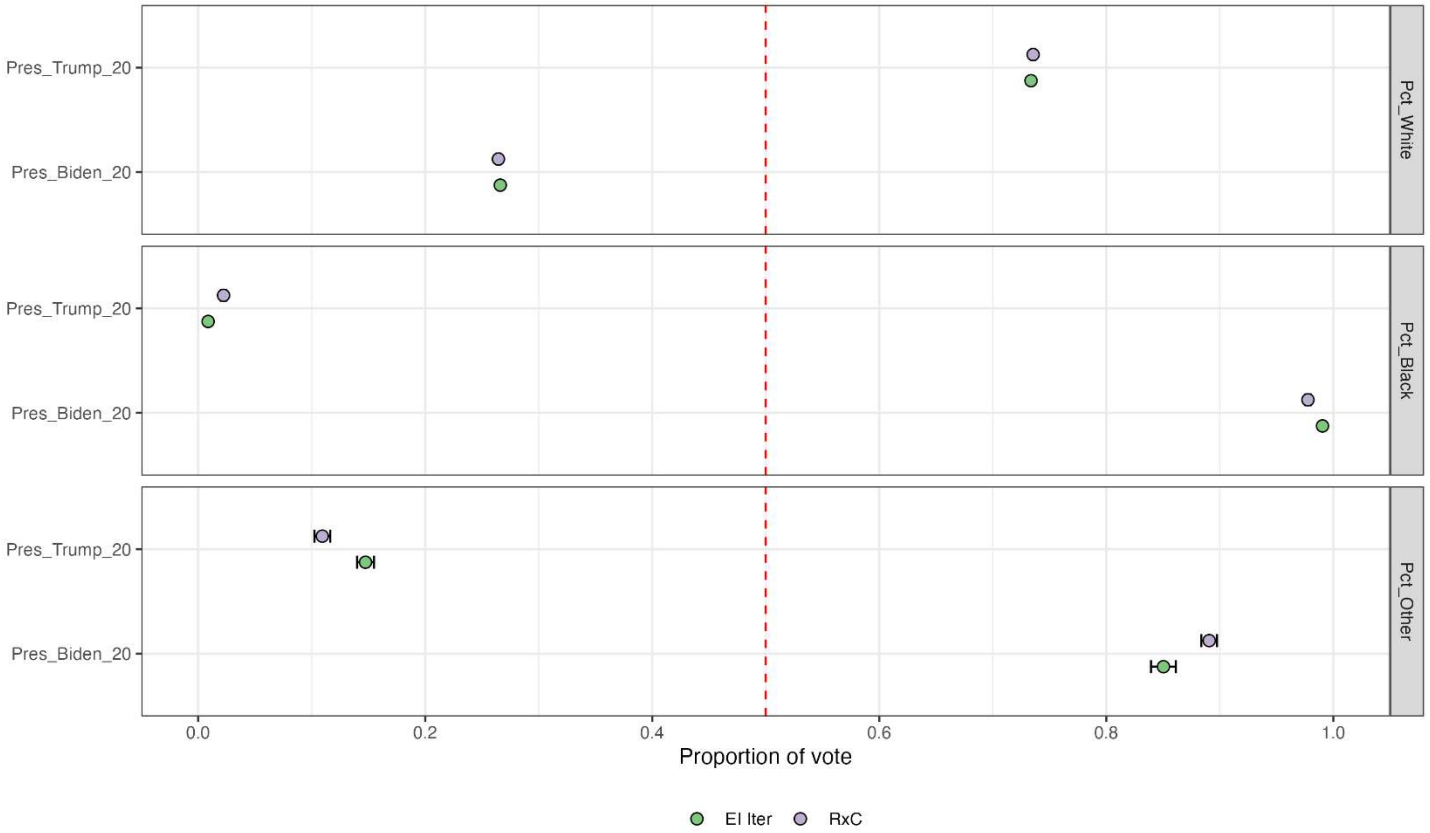


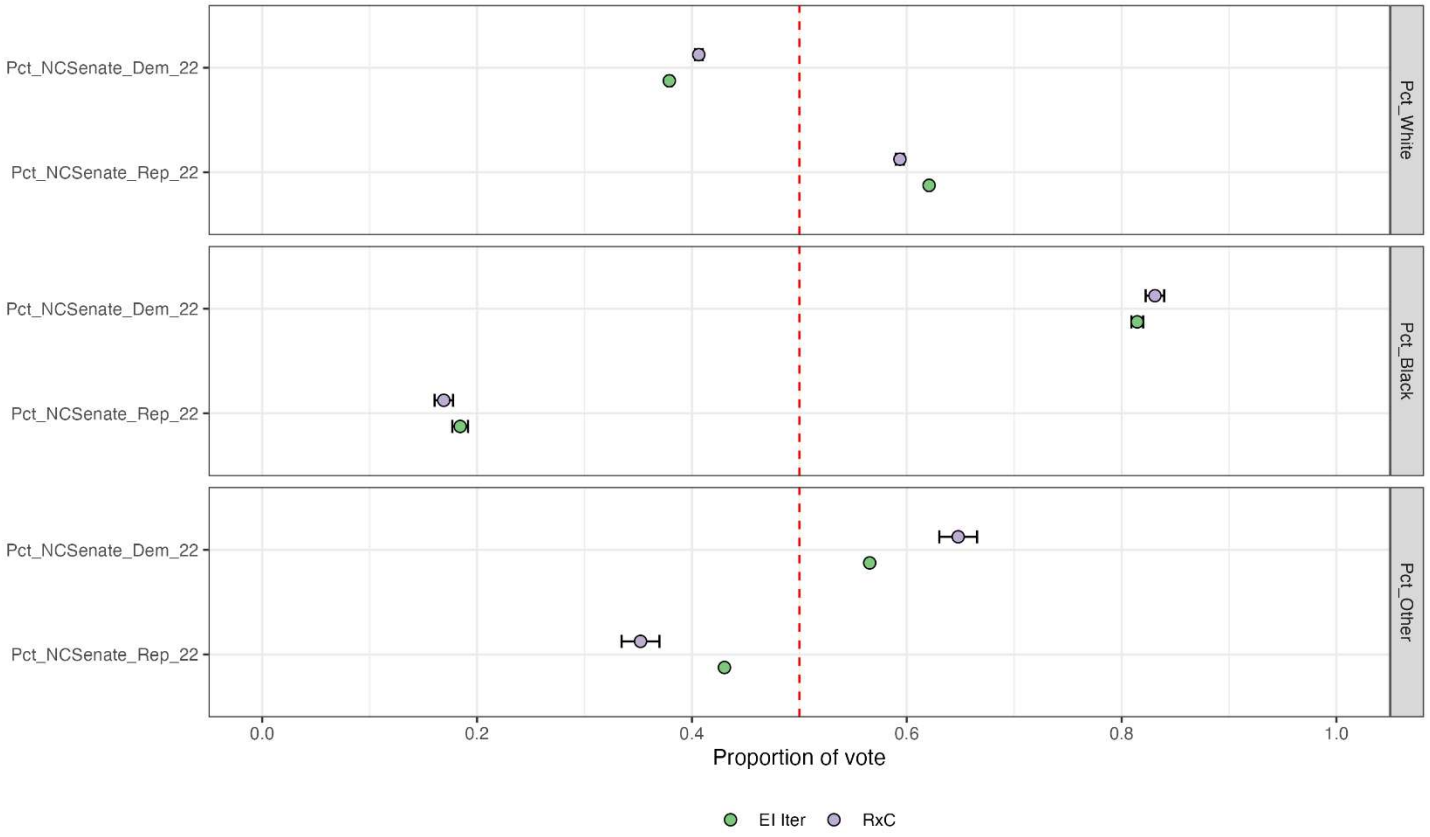
Statewide RPV analysis: Black and white point estimates and confidence intervals



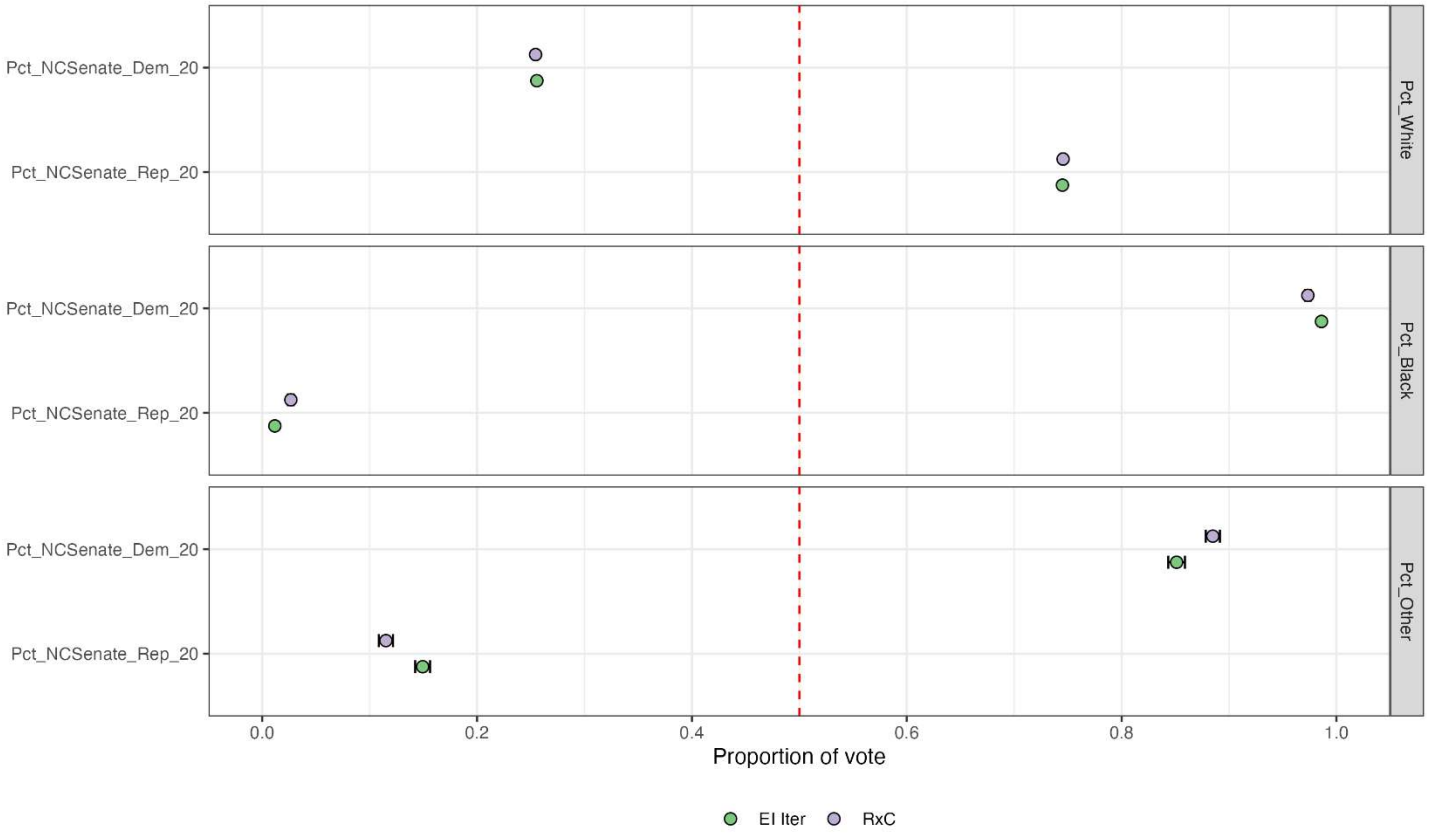


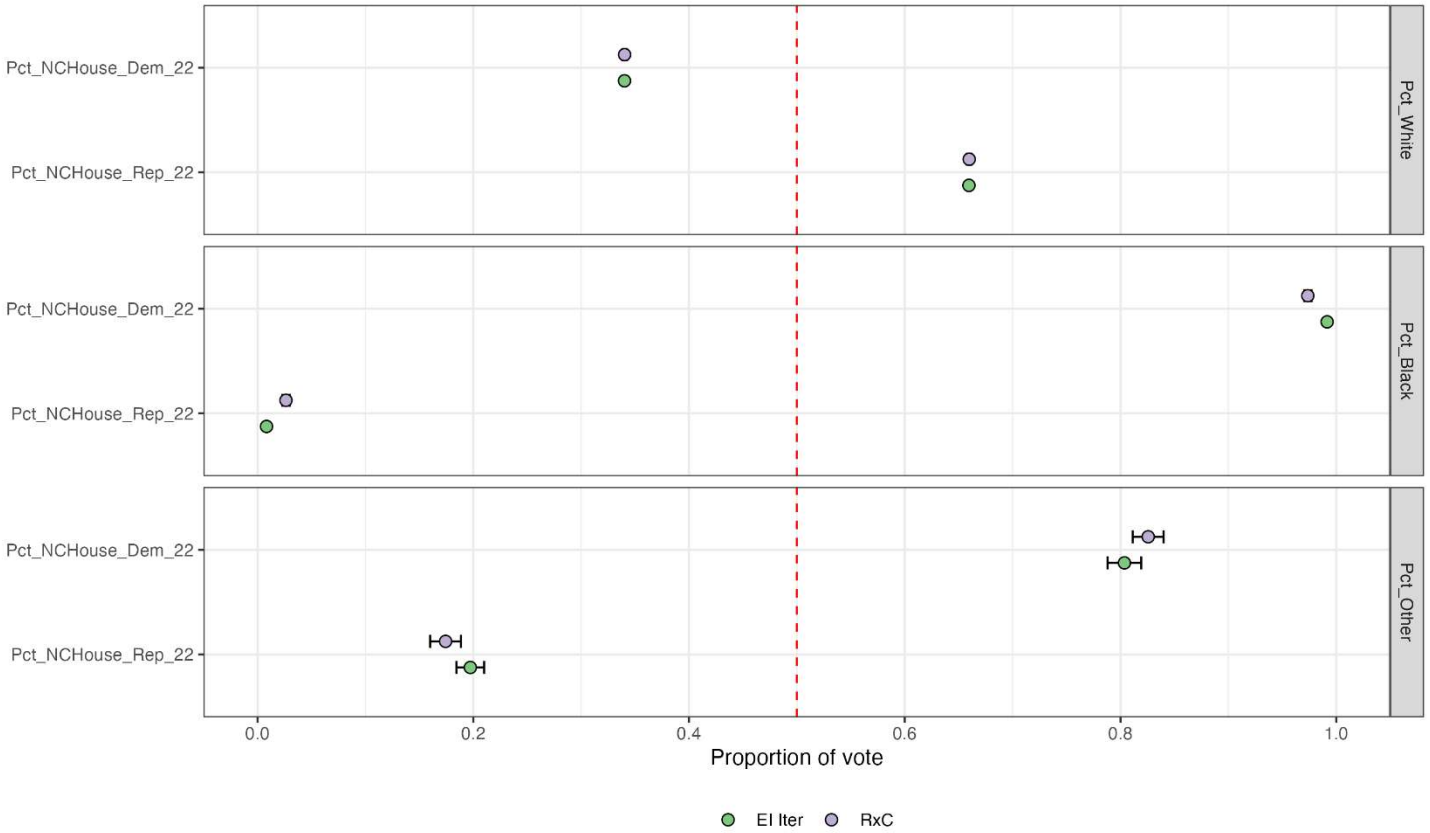
Statewide RPV analysis: Black and white point estimates and confidence intervals



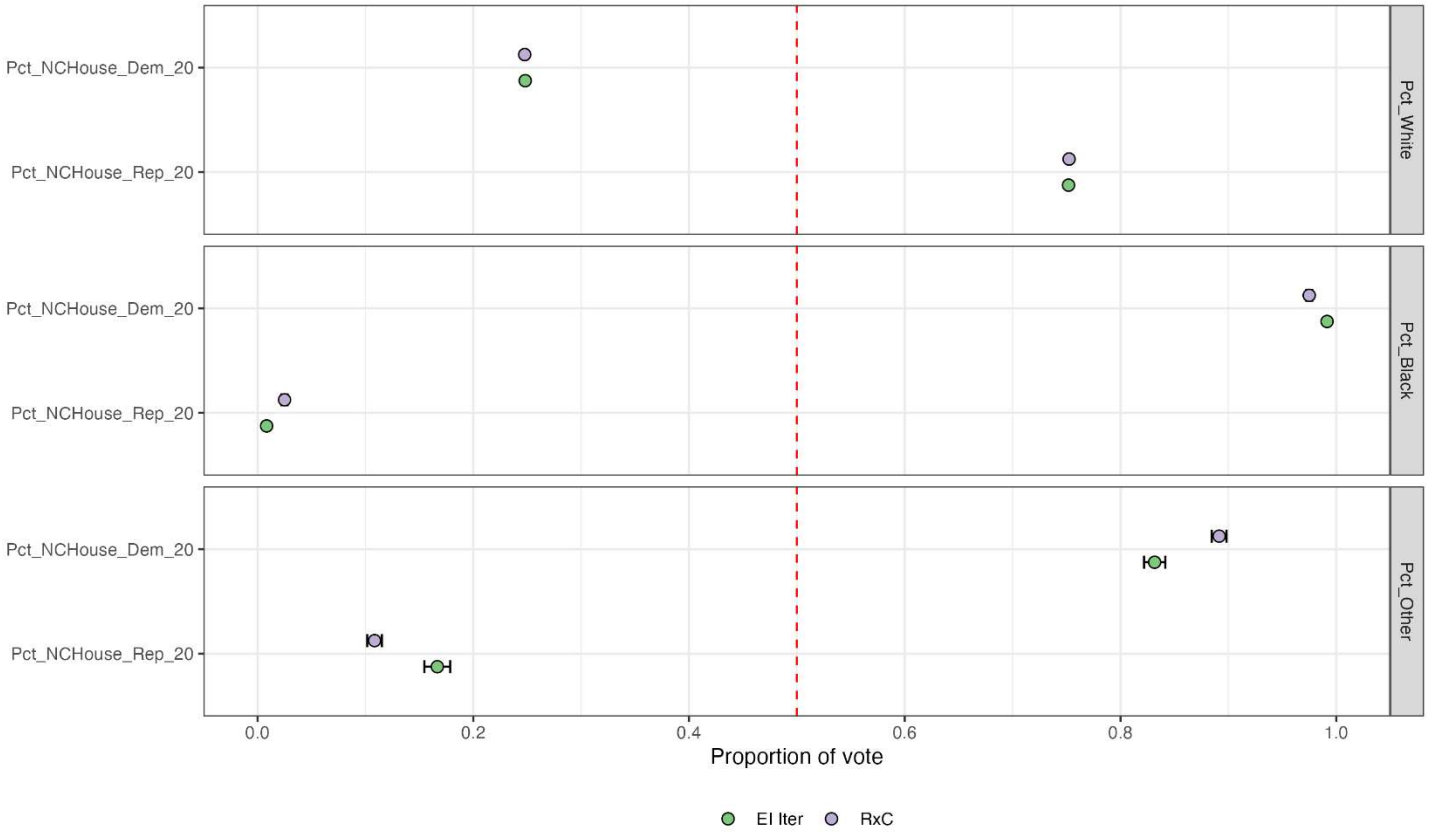


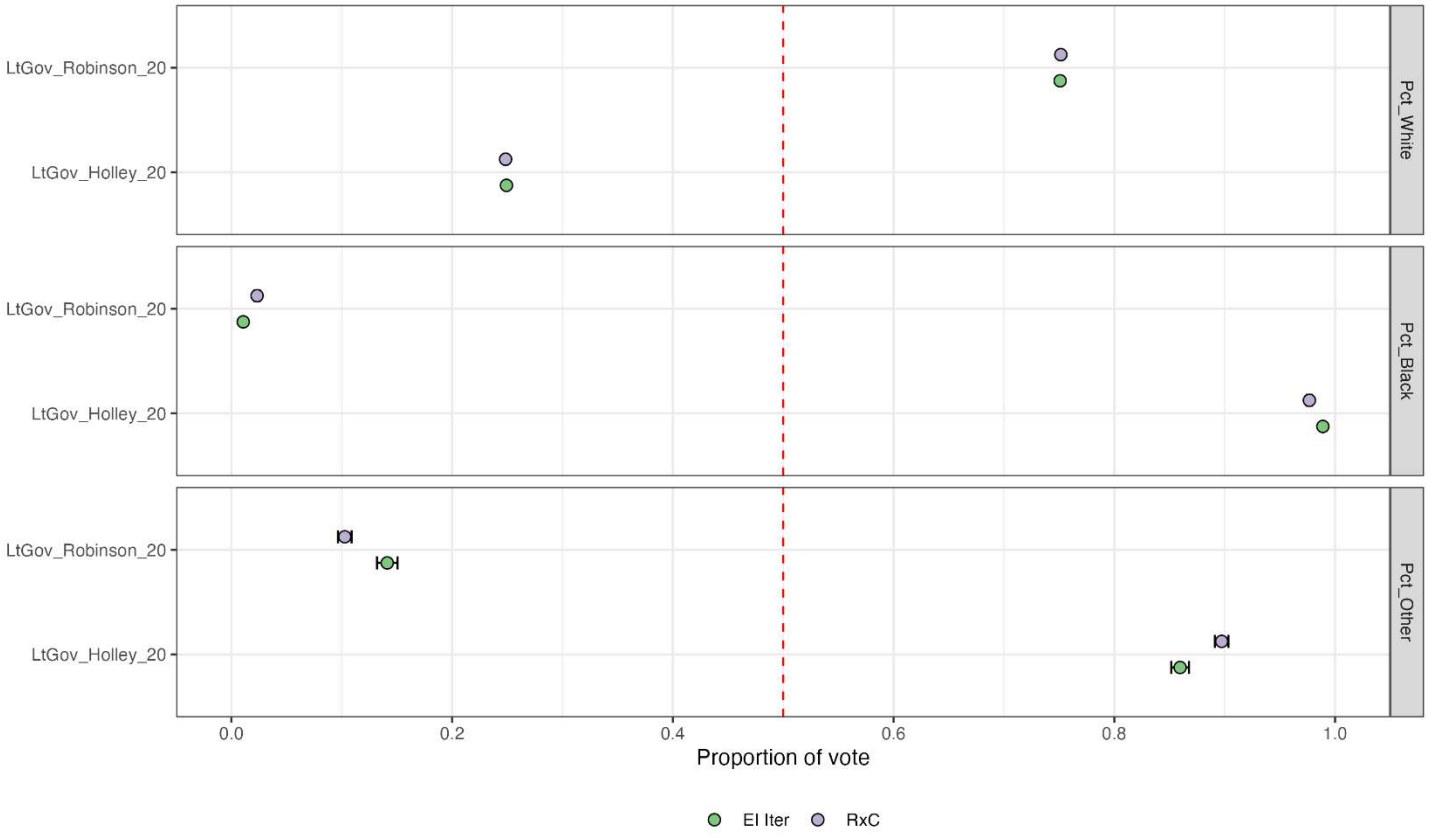
Statewide RPV analysis: Black and white point estimates and confidence intervals



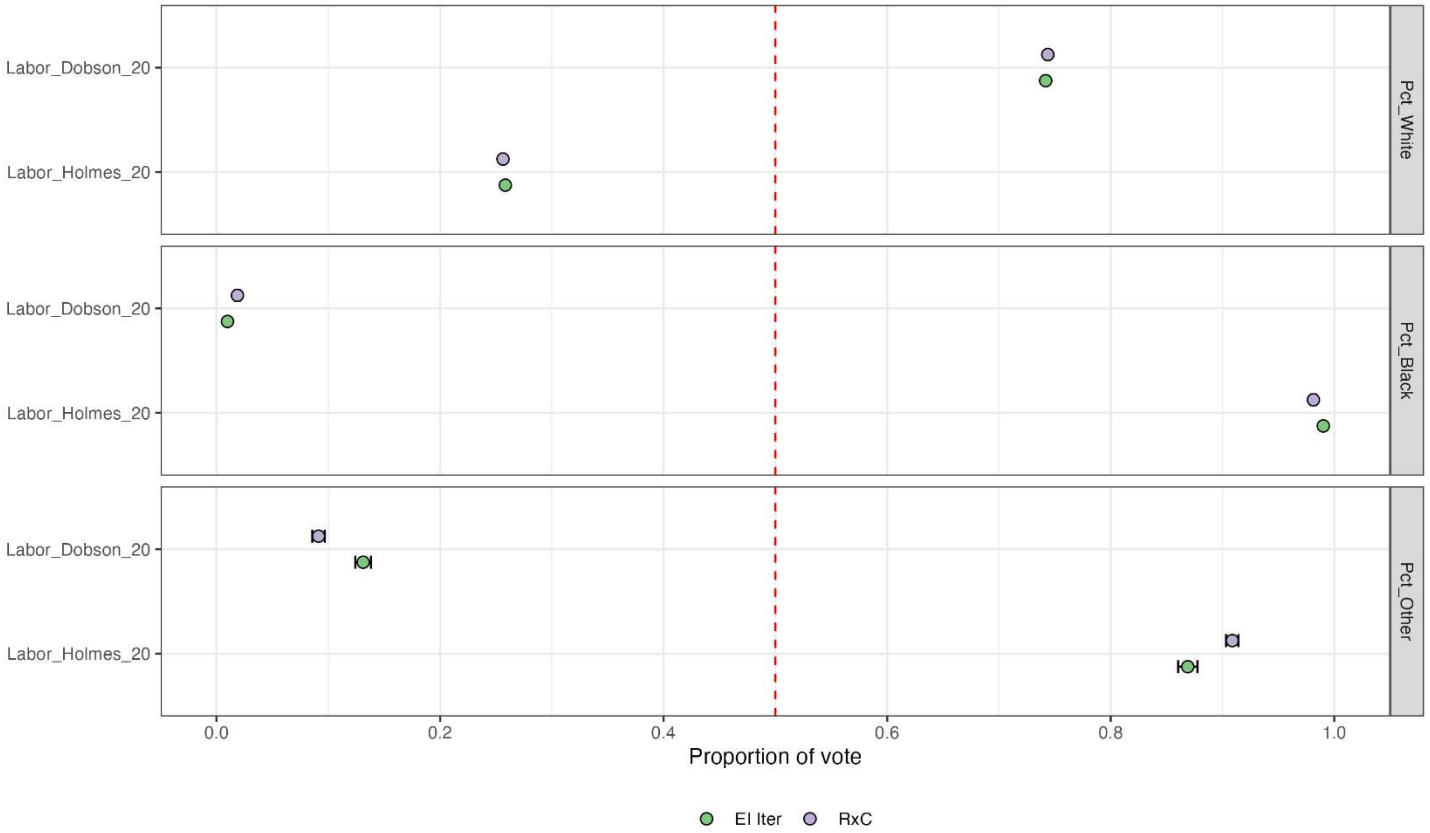


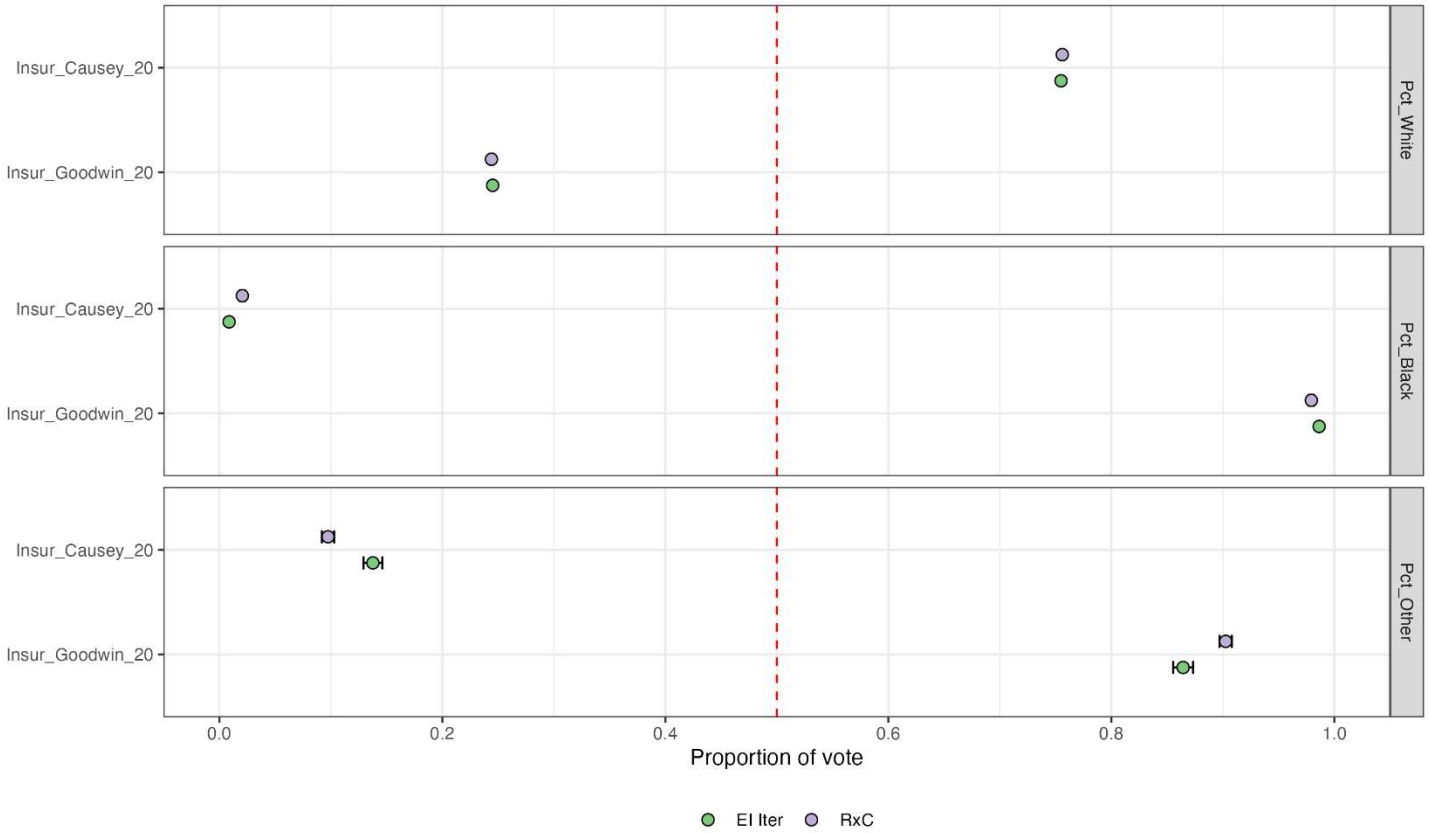
Statewide RPV analysis: Black and white point estimates and confidence intervals



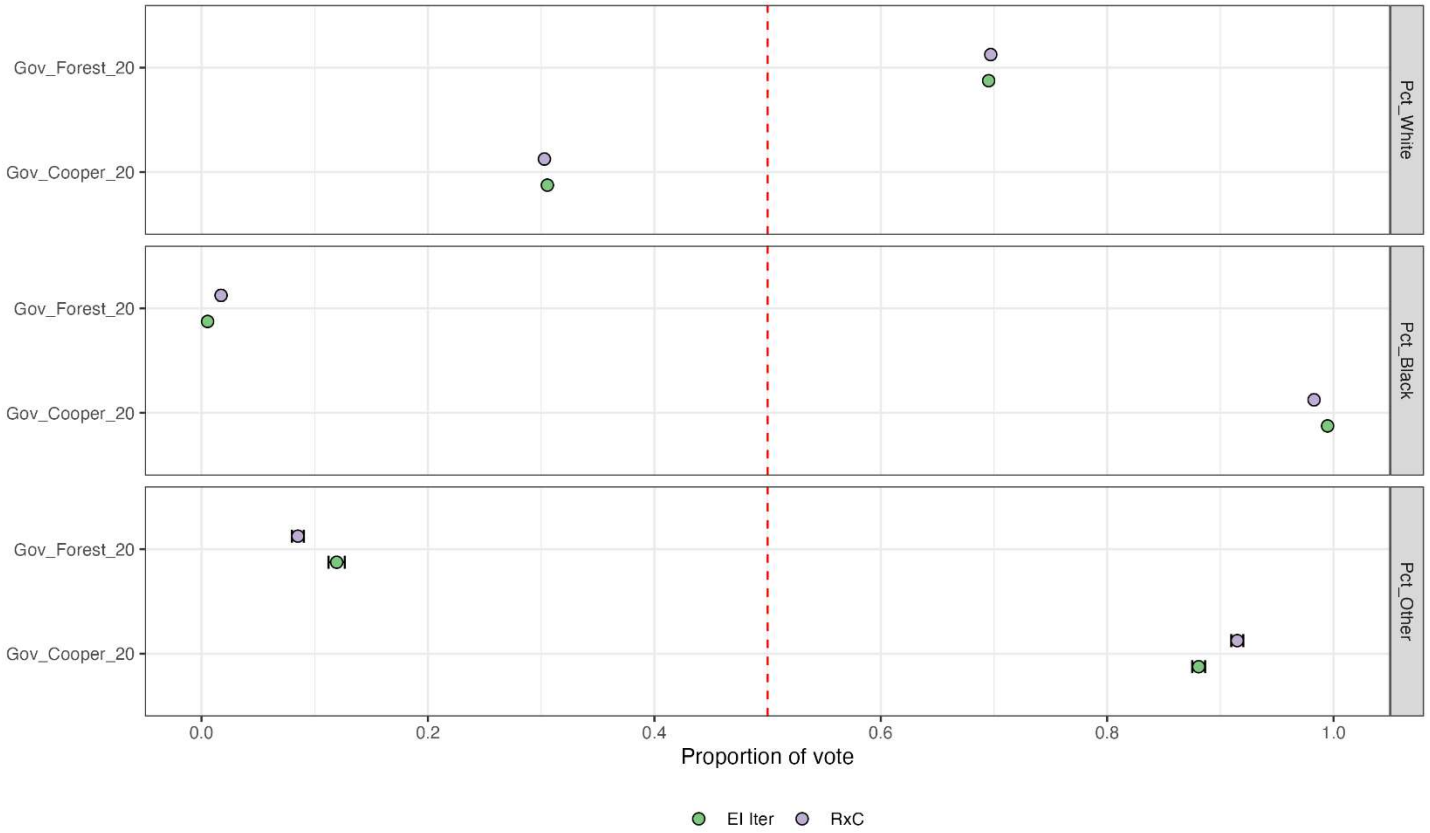


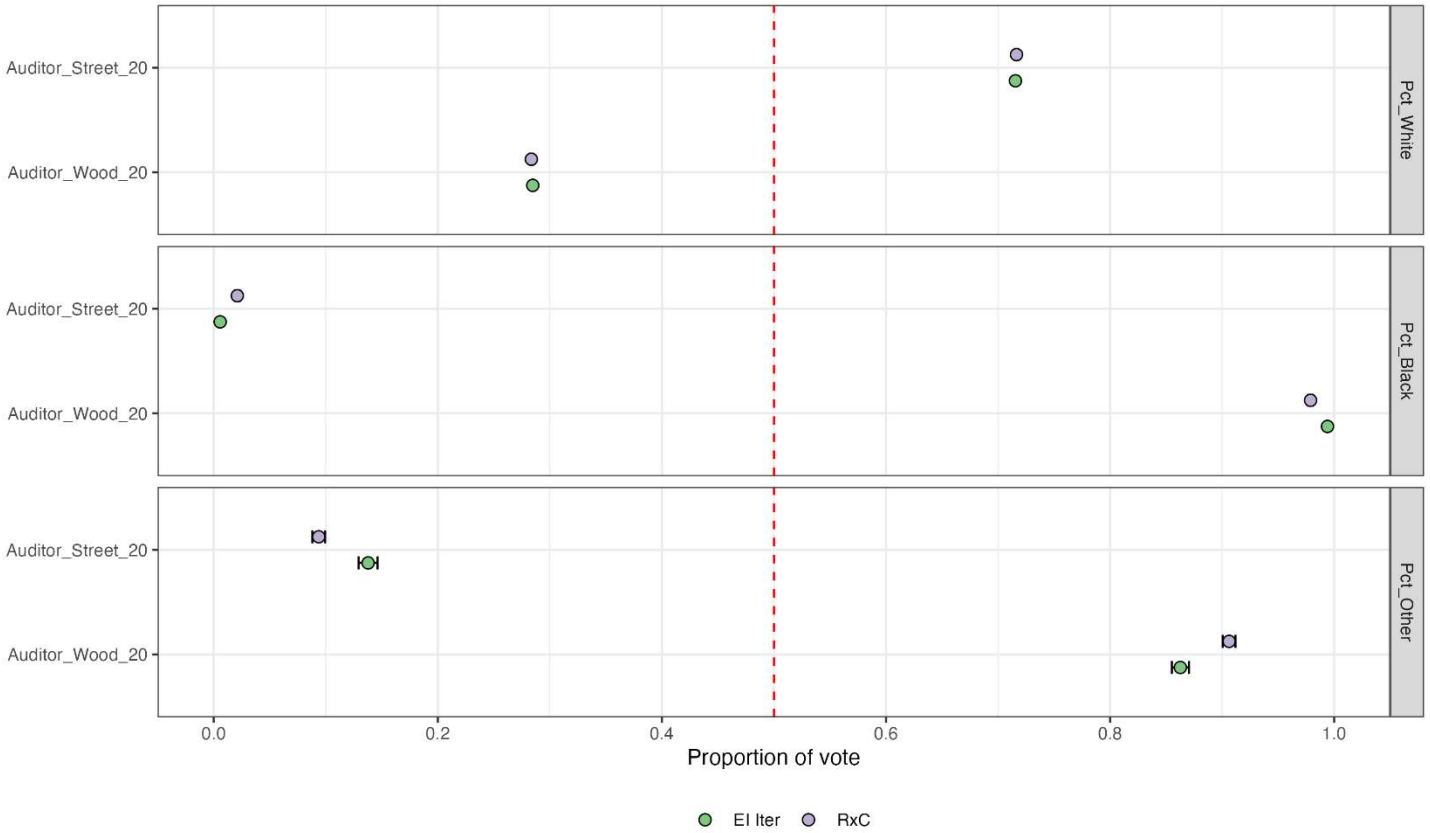
Statewide RPV analysis: Black and white point estimates and confidence intervals



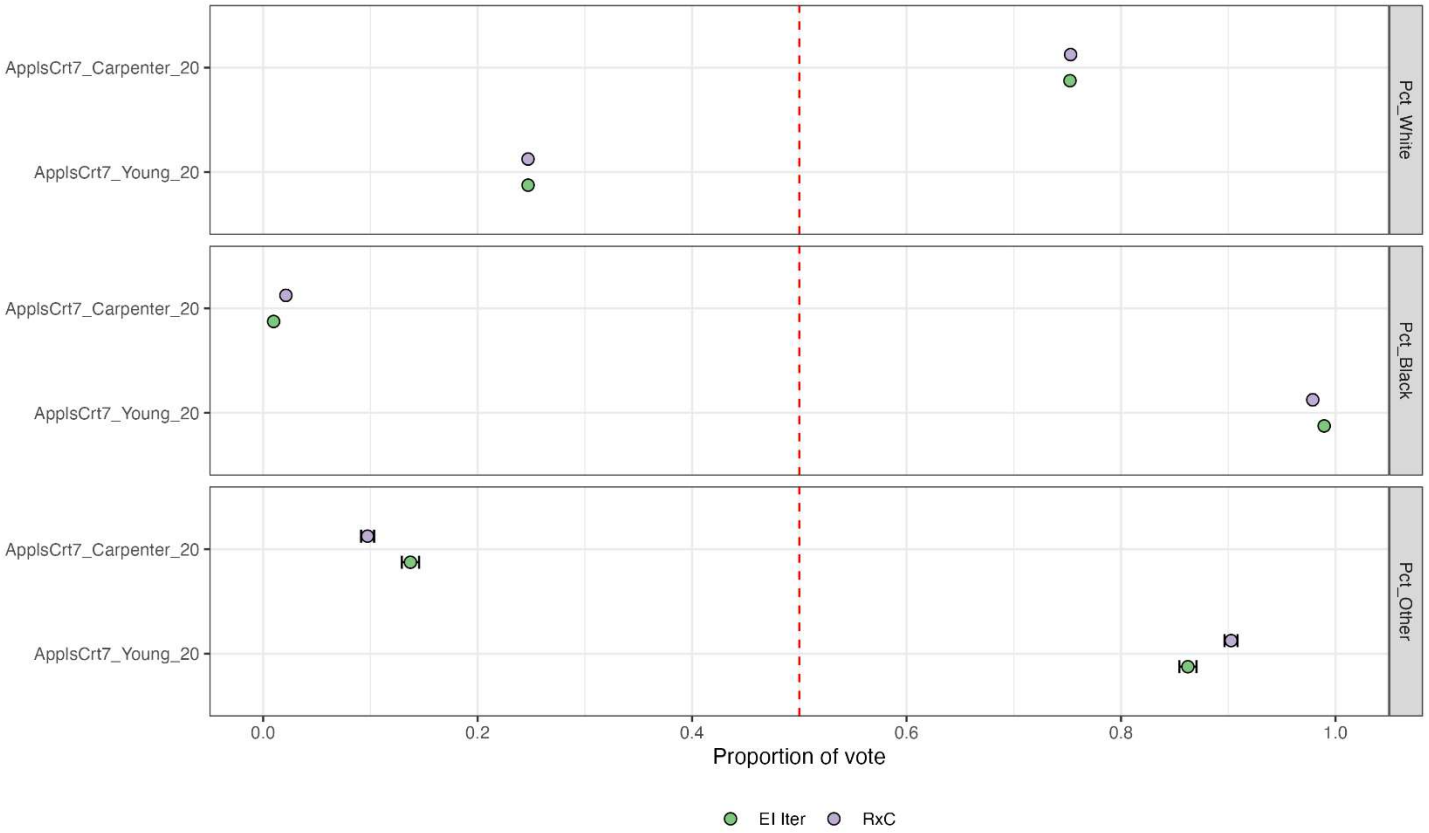


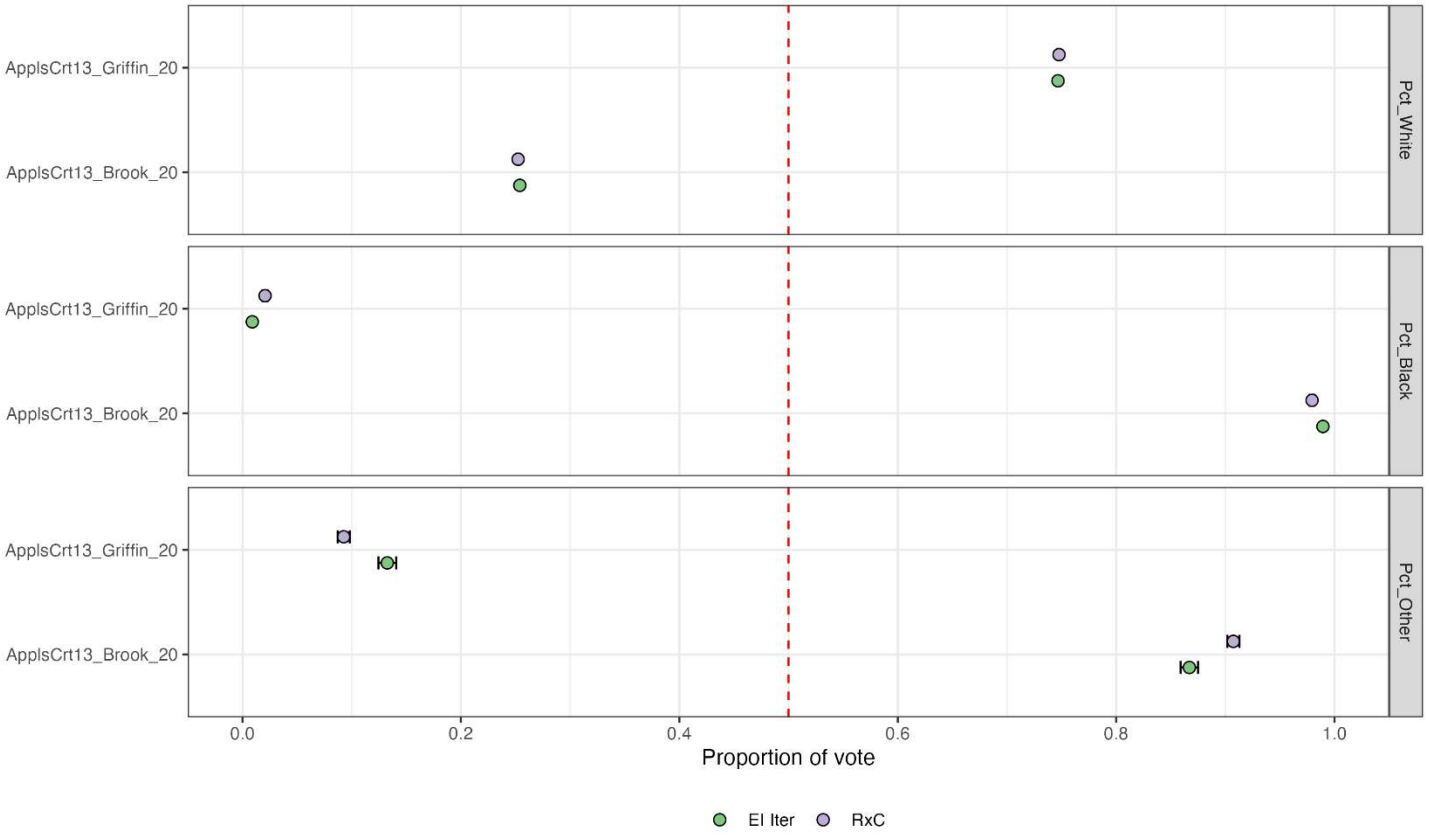
Statewide RPV analysis: Black and white point estimates and confidence intervals



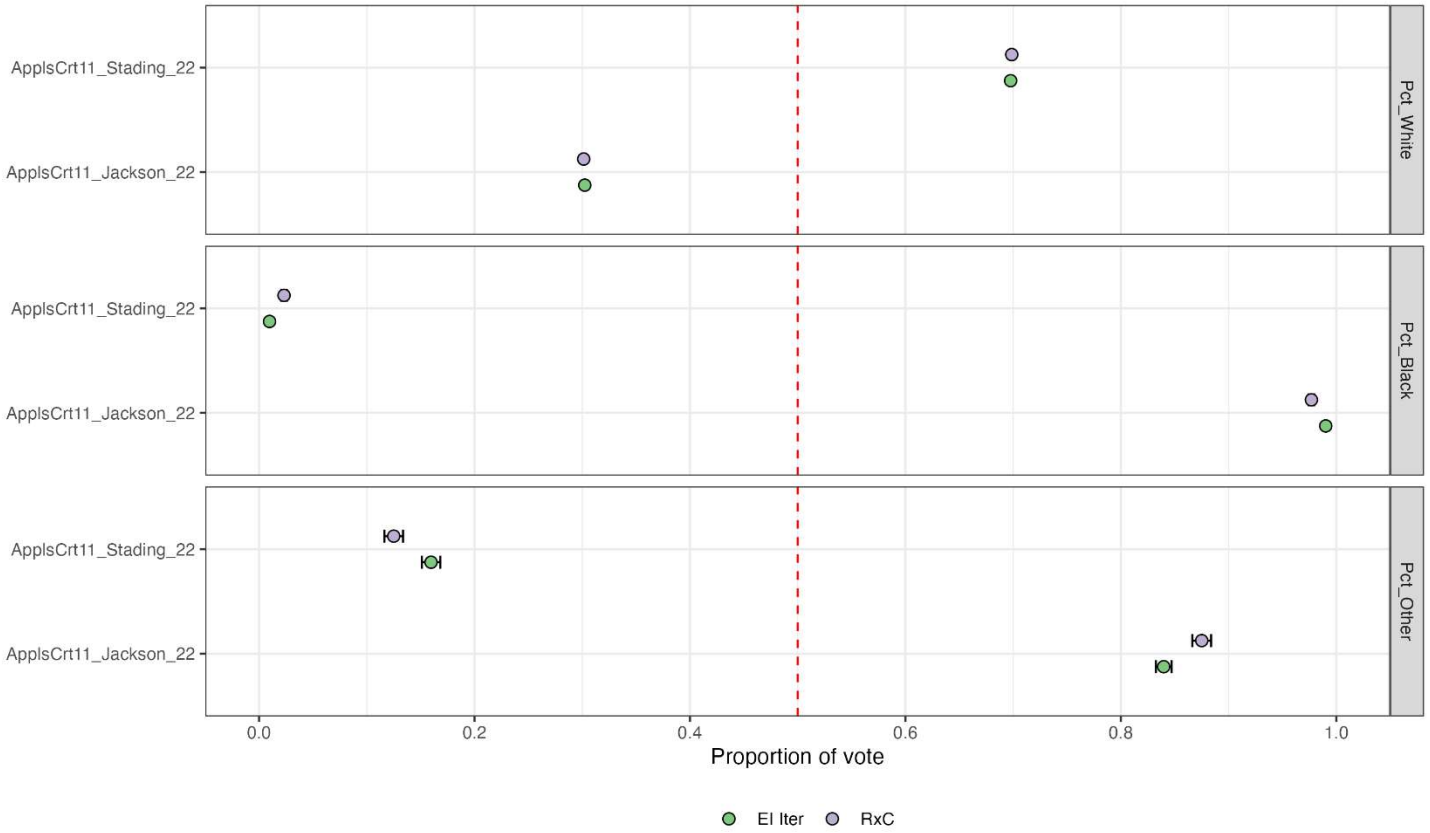


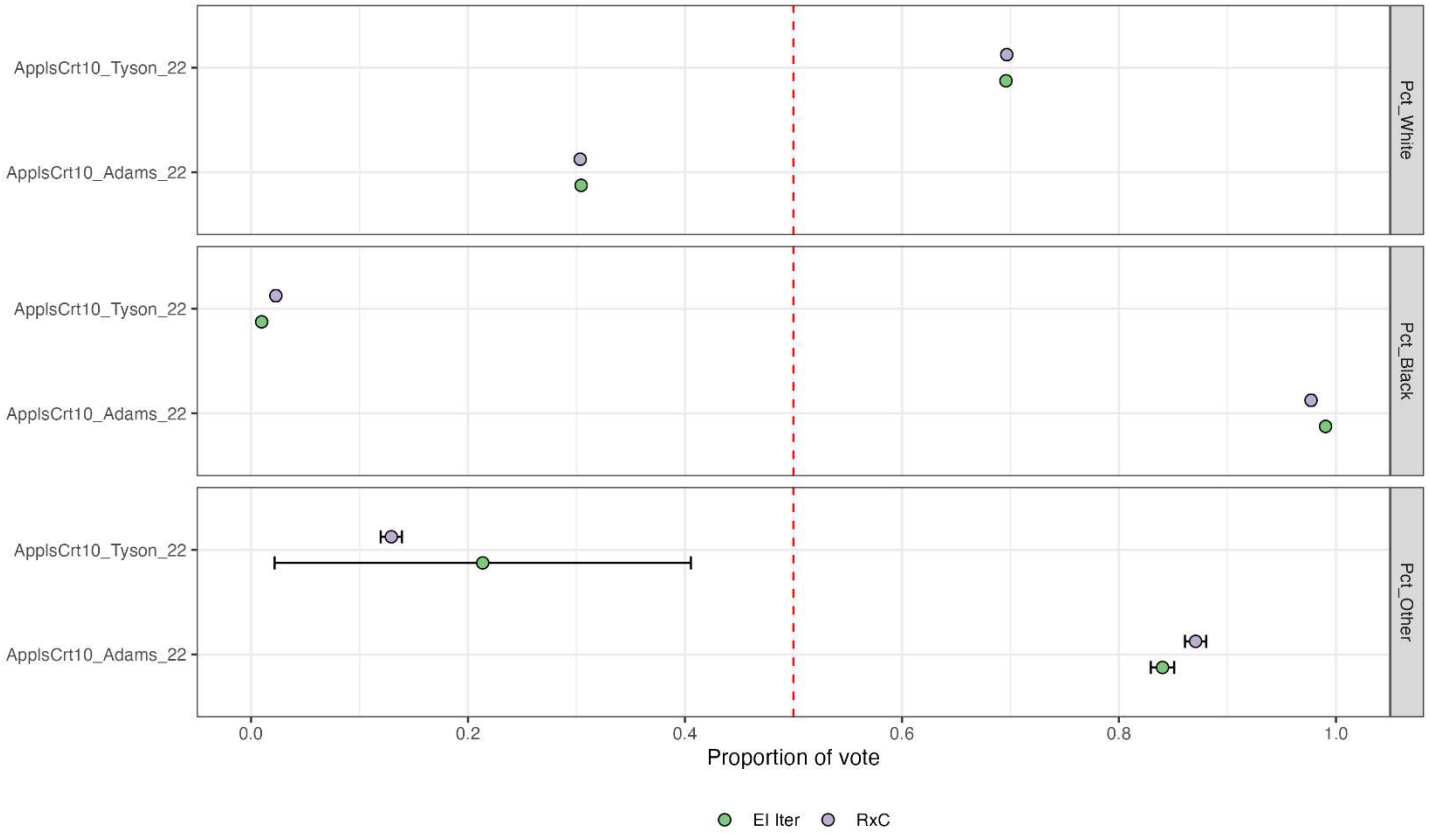
Statewide RPV analysis: Black and white point estimates and confidence intervals



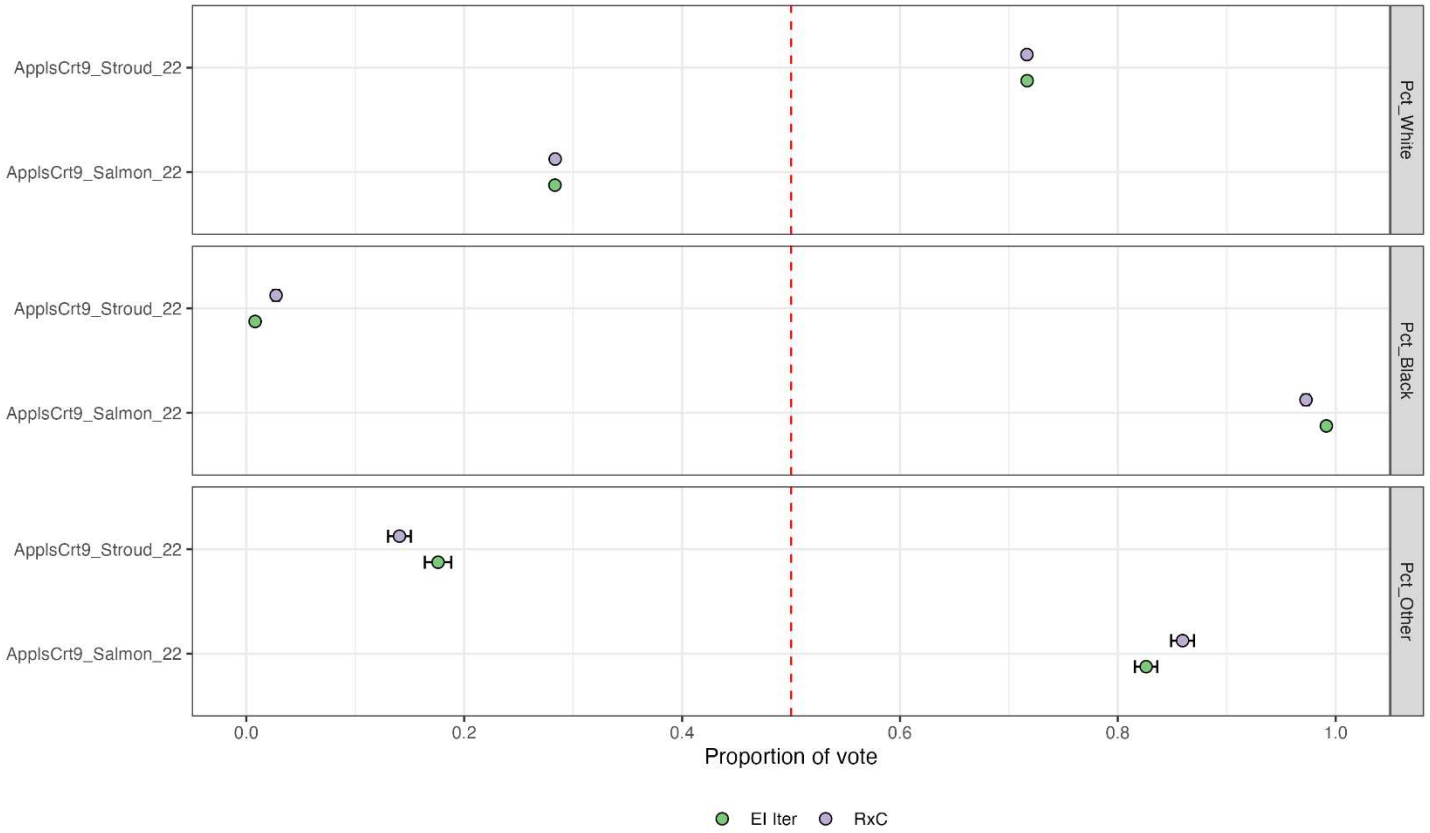


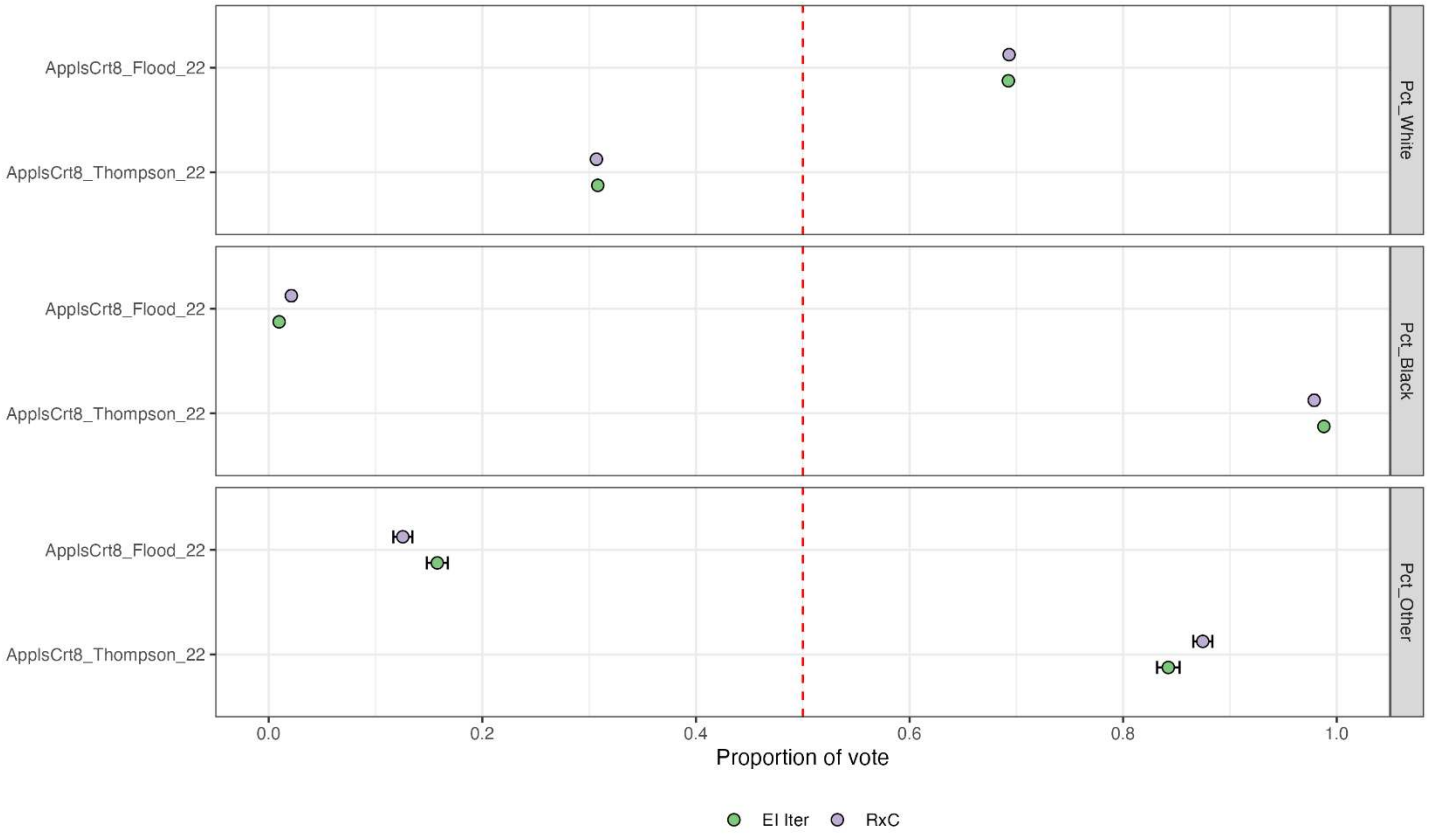
Statewide RPV analysis: Black and white point estimates and confidence intervals



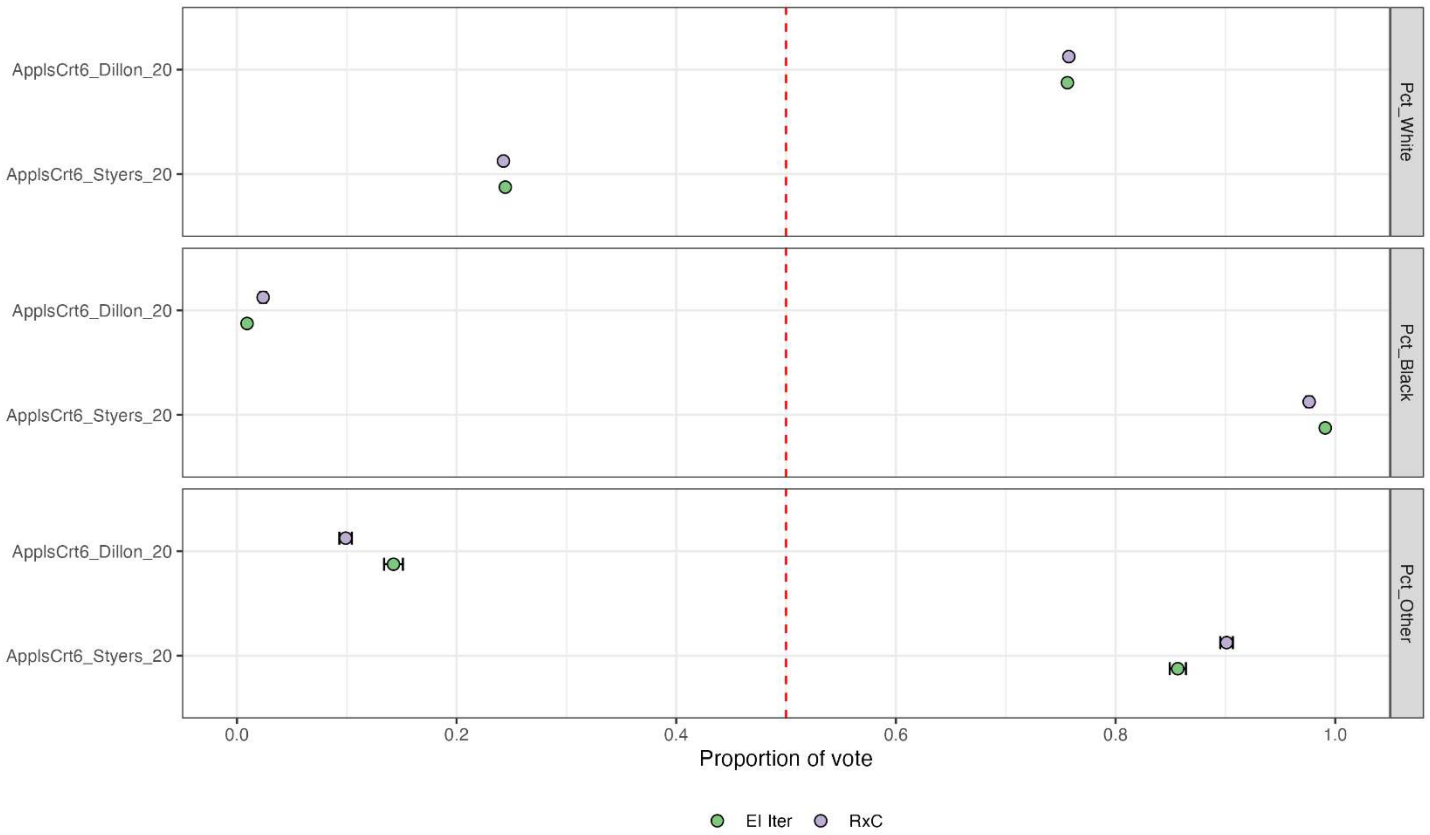


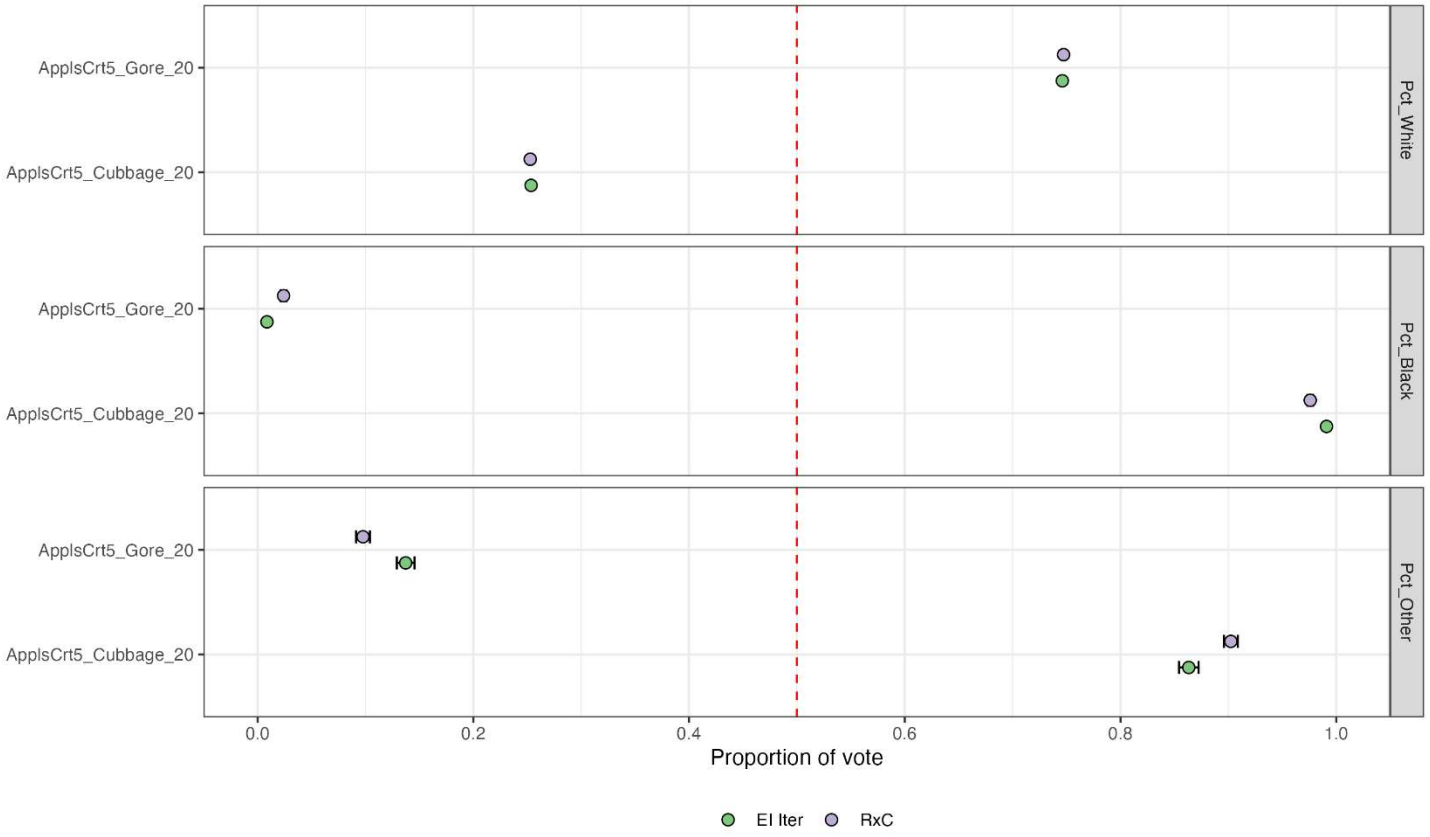
Statewide RPV analysis: Black and white point estimates and confidence intervals



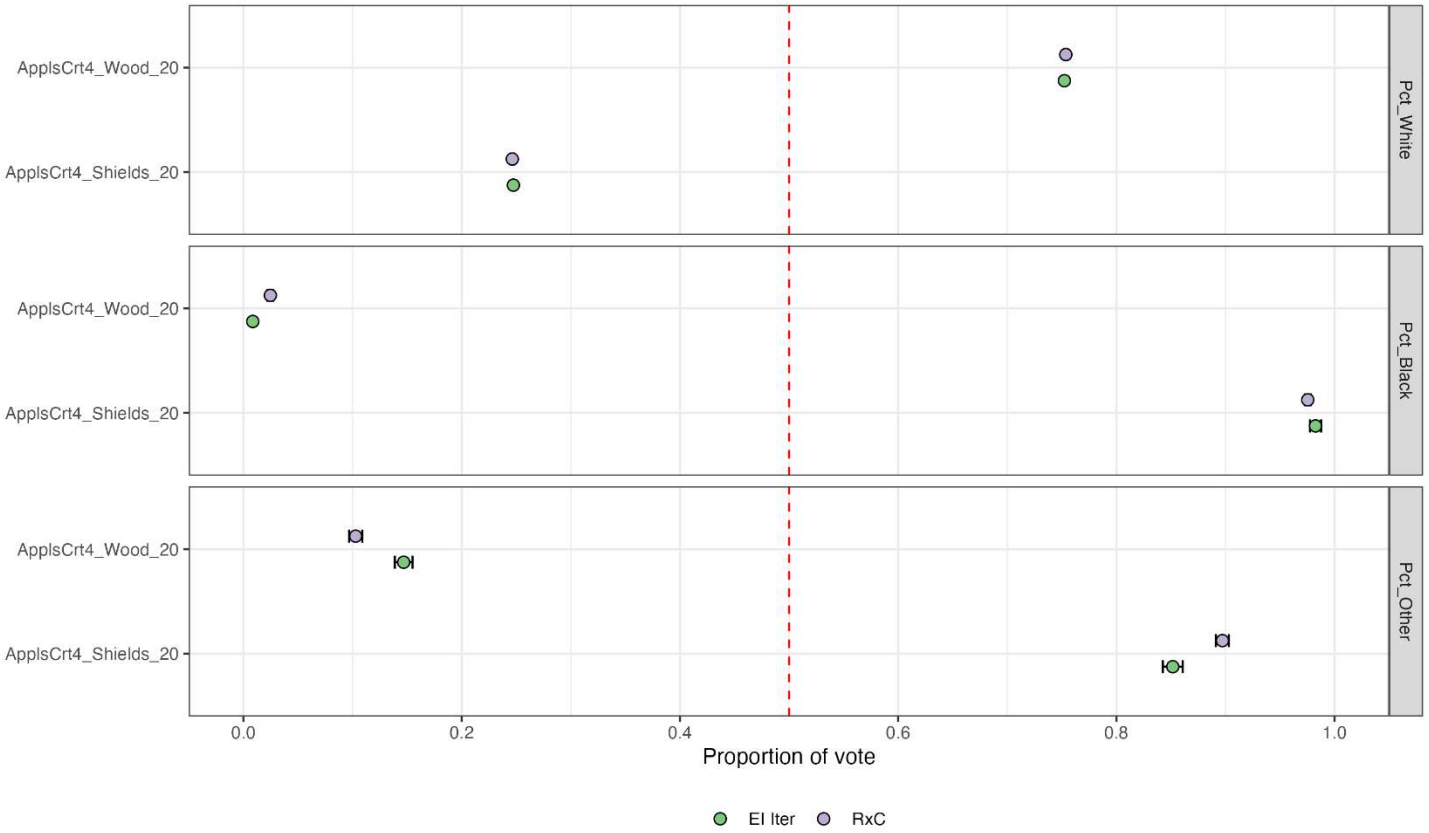


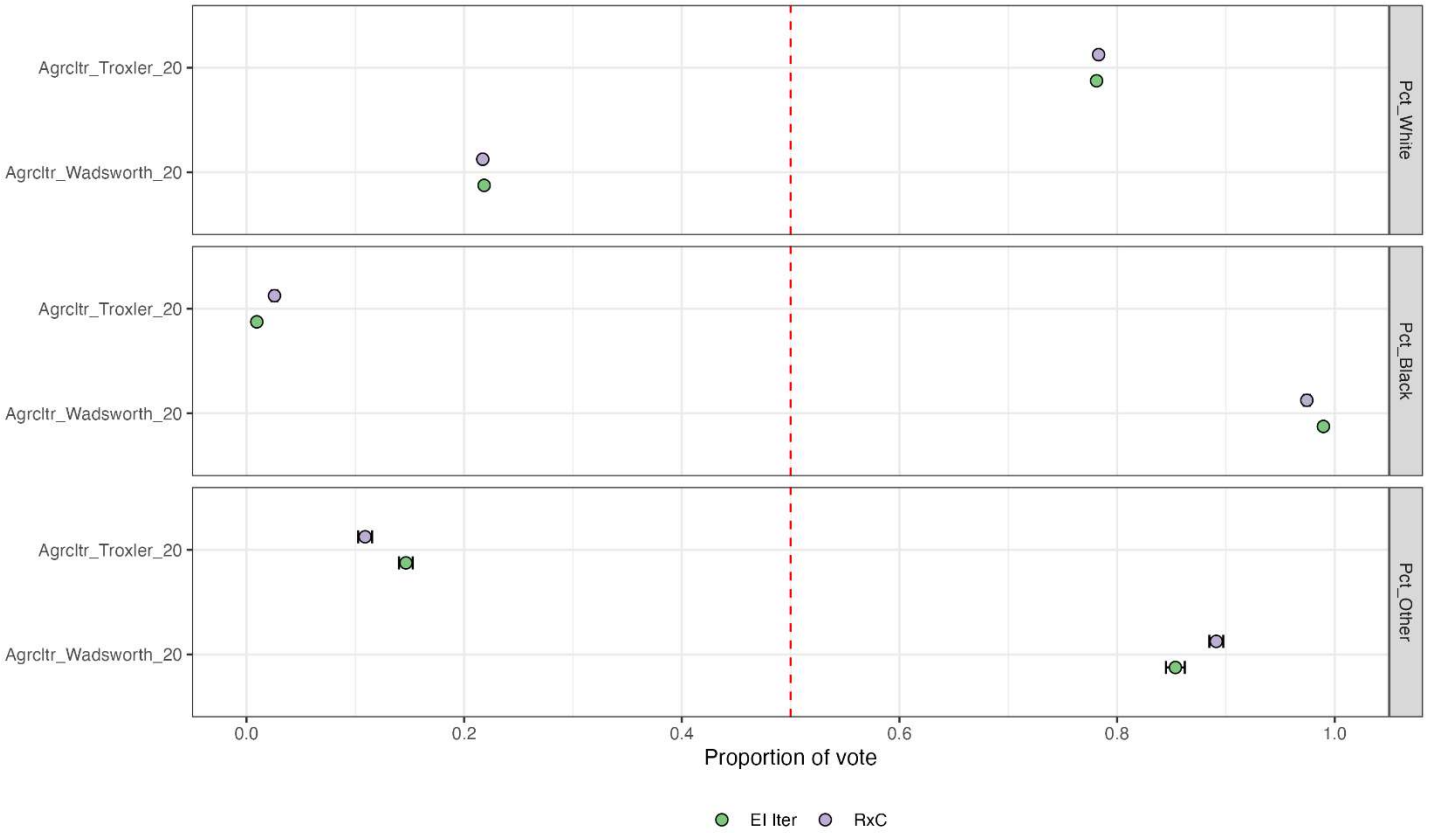
Statewide RPV analysis: Black and white point estimates and confidence intervals



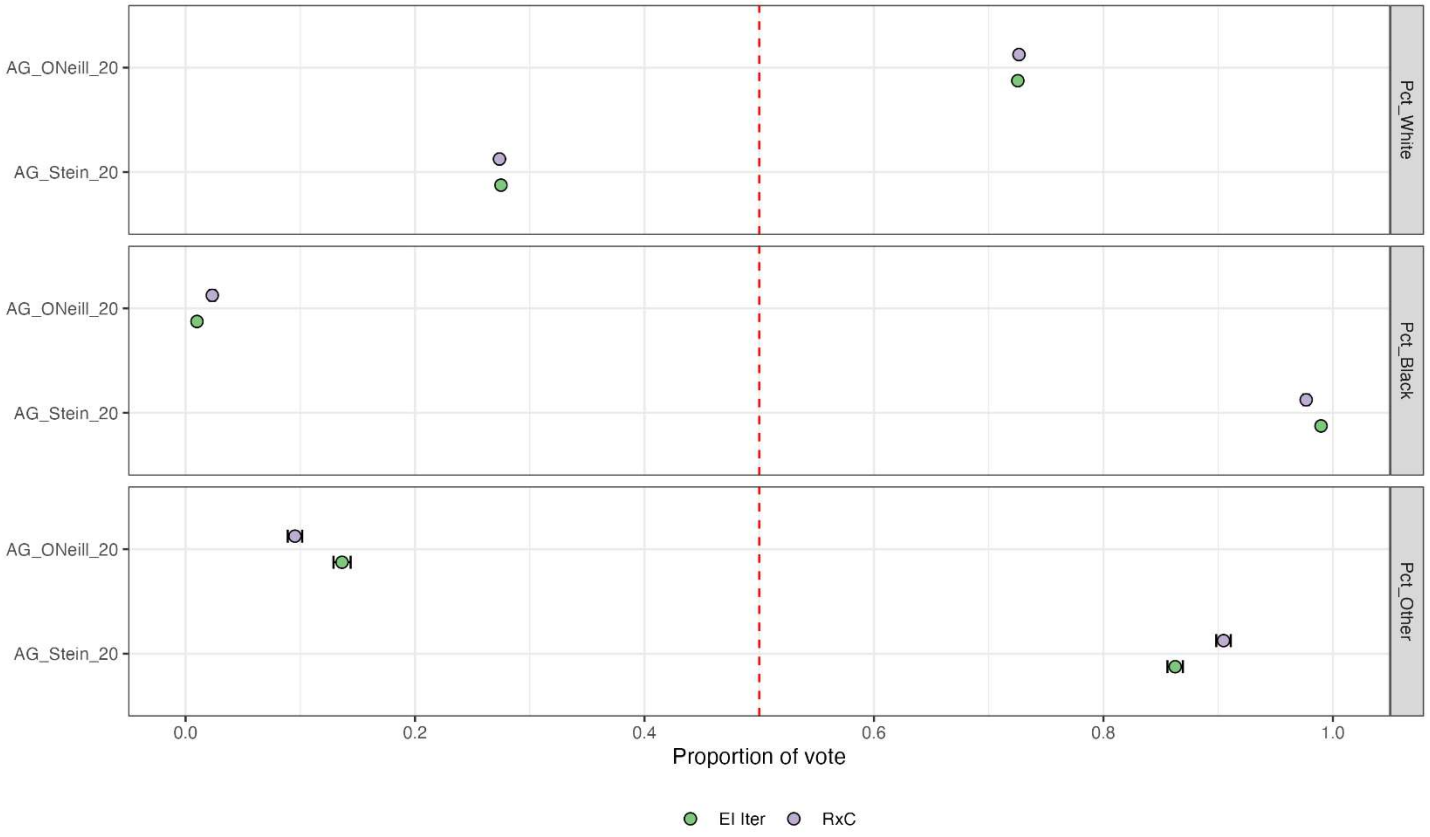


Statewide RPV analysis: Black and white point estimates and confidence intervals





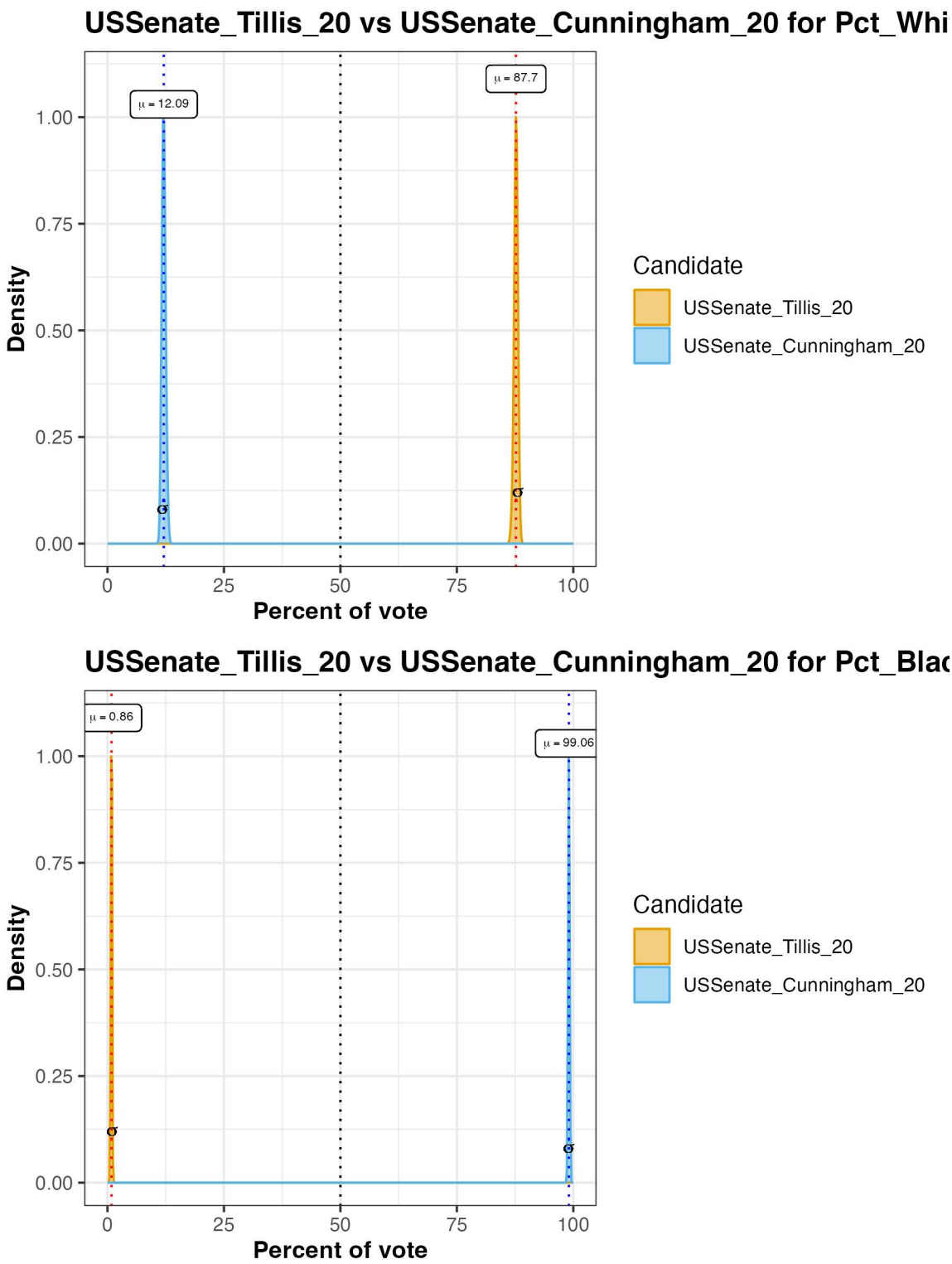
Statewide RPV analysis: Black and white point estimates and confidence intervals



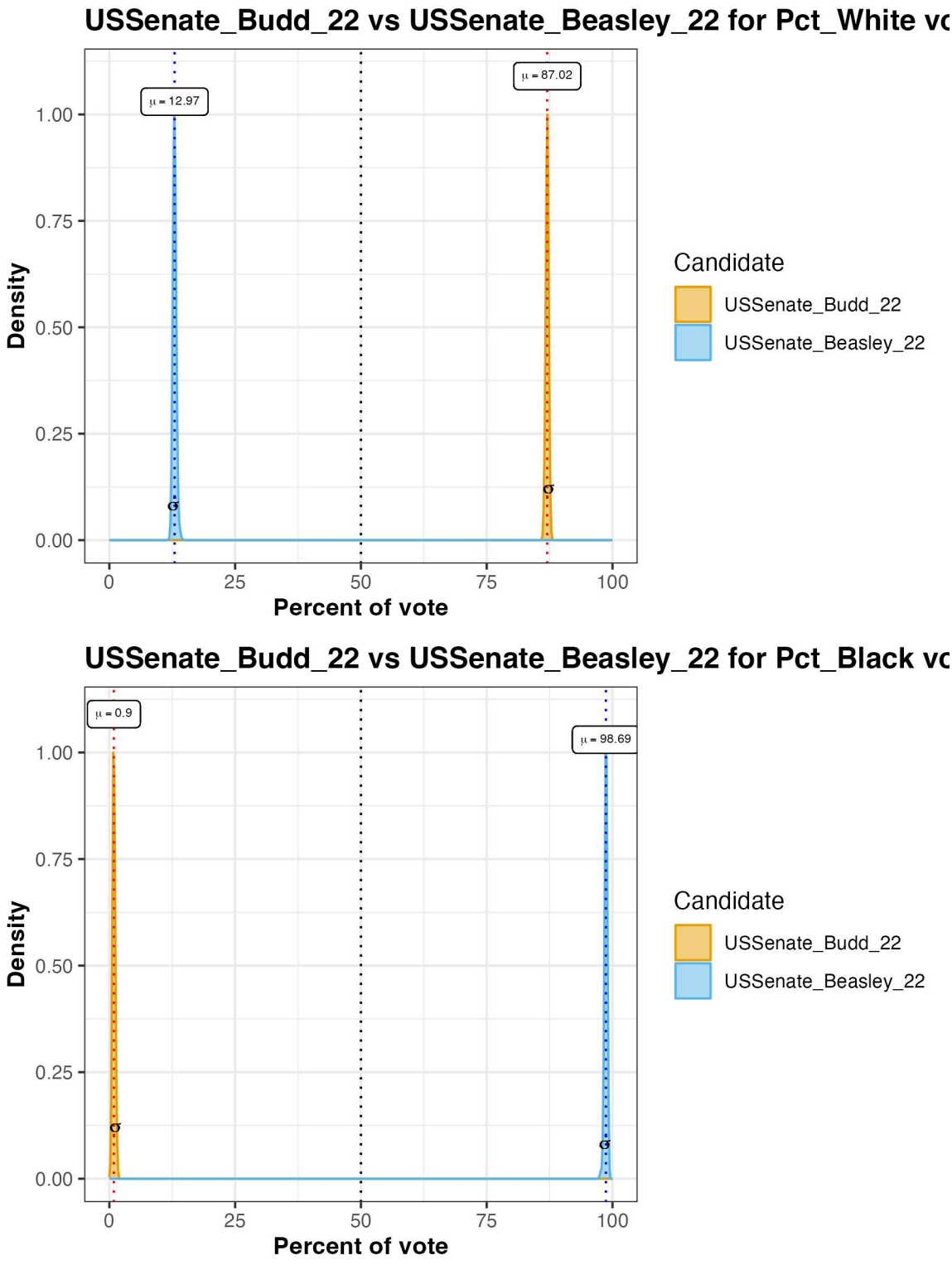
Appendix E:

Northeast region RPV analysis: Black and white point estimates and confidence intervals

EI Density Plots



Northeast region RPV analysis: Black and white point estimates and confidence intervals



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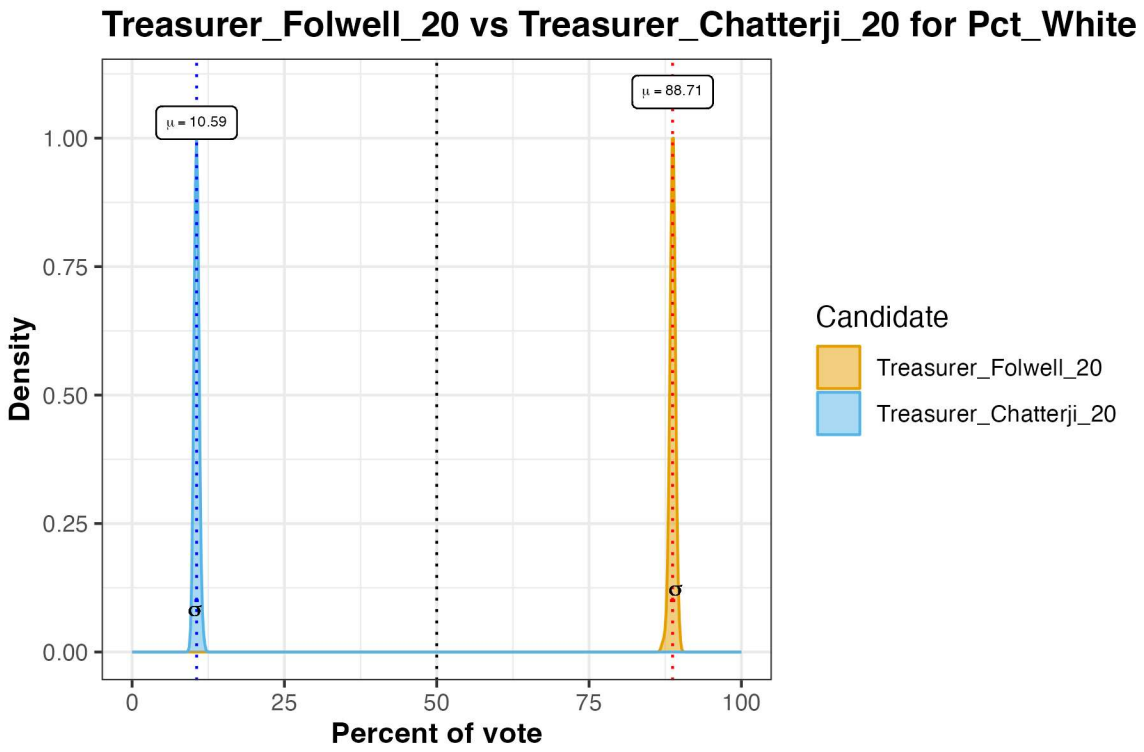
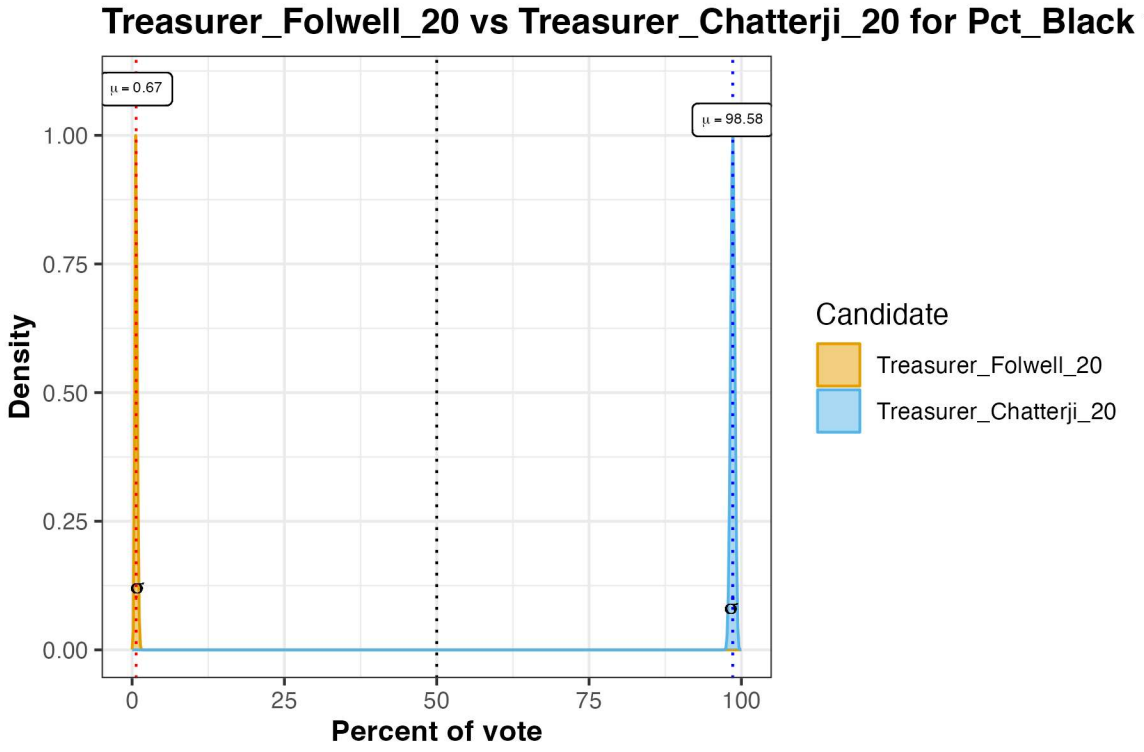
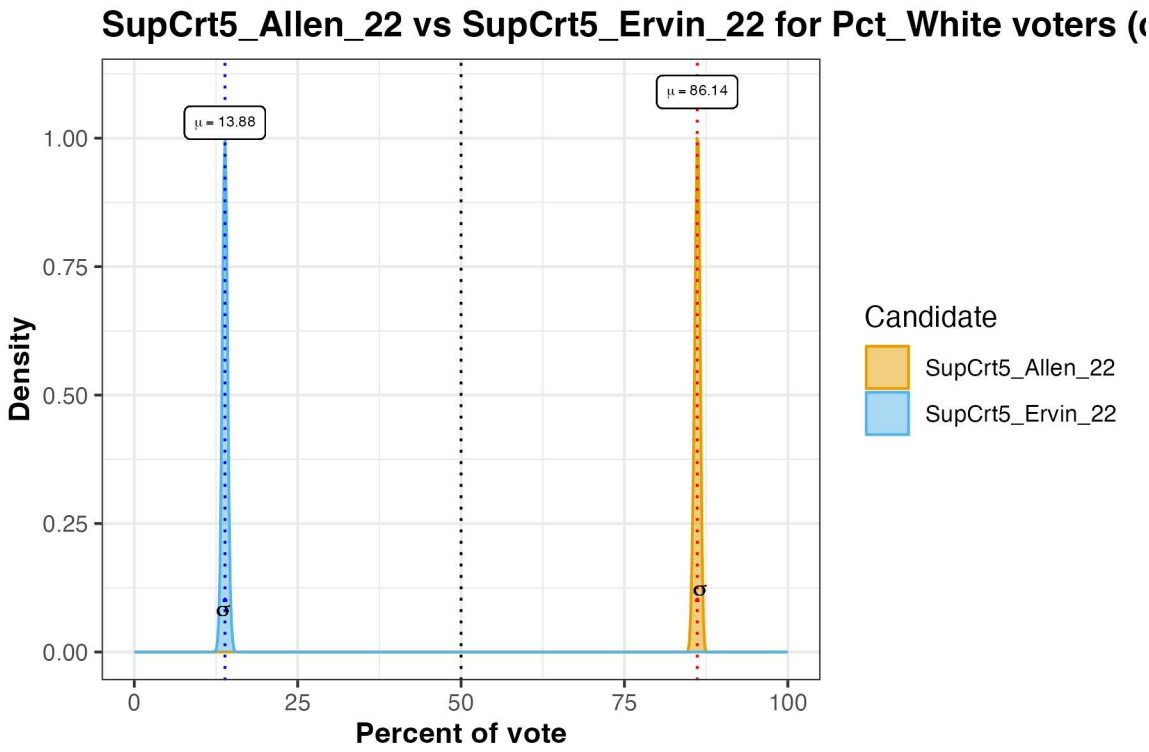
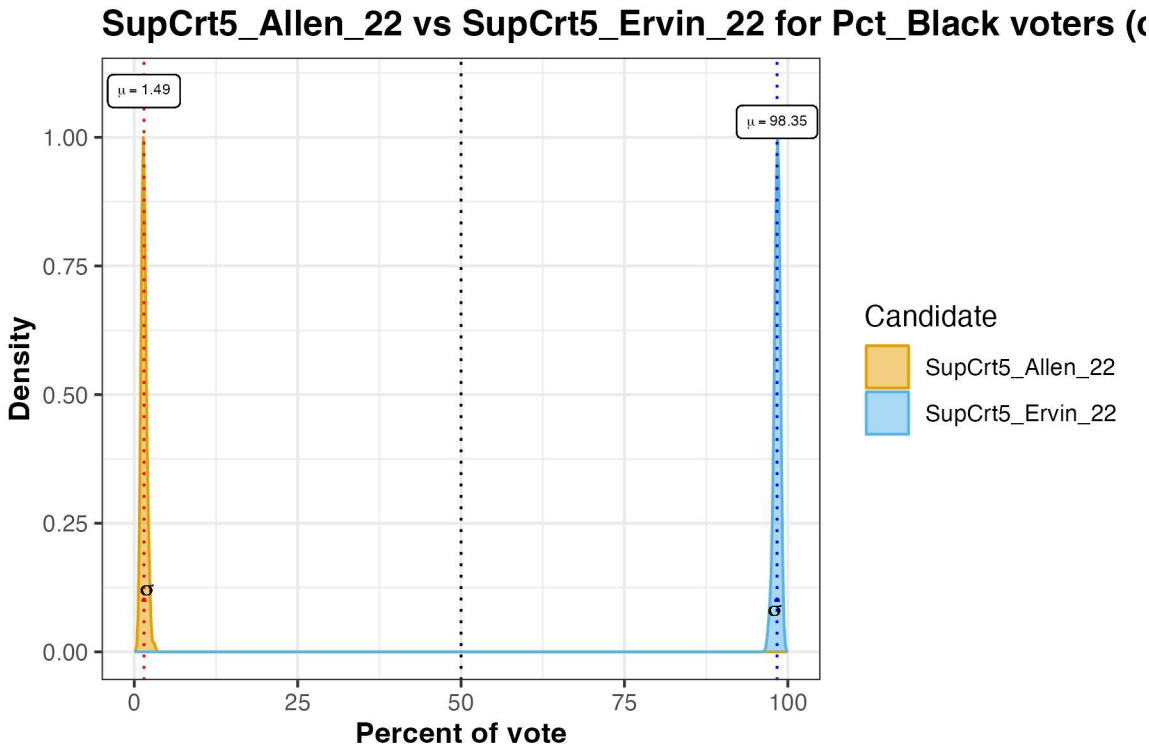




Northeast region RPV analysis: Black and white point estimates and confidence intervals





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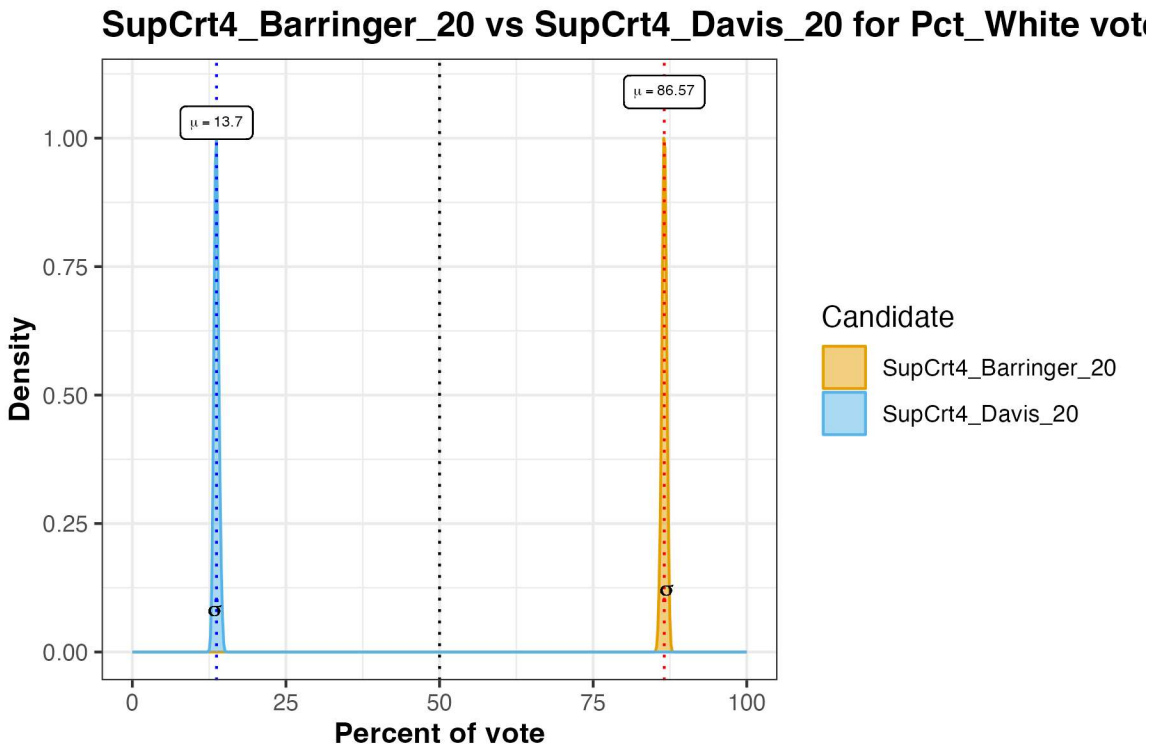
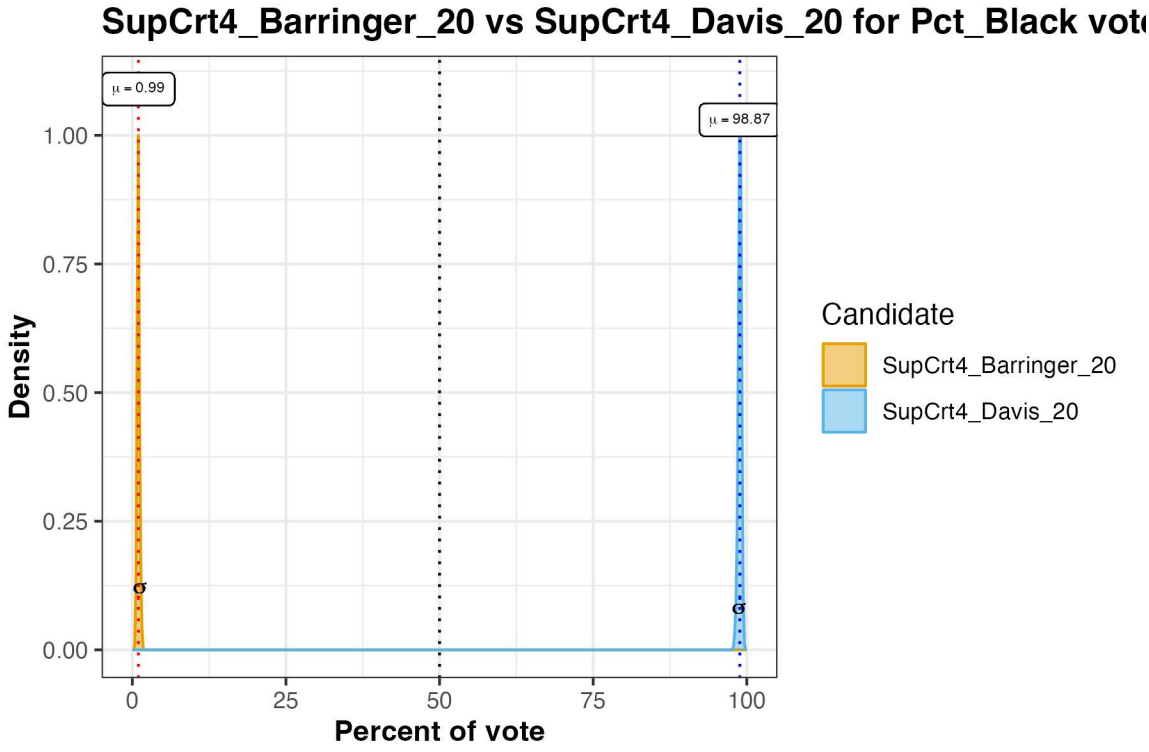
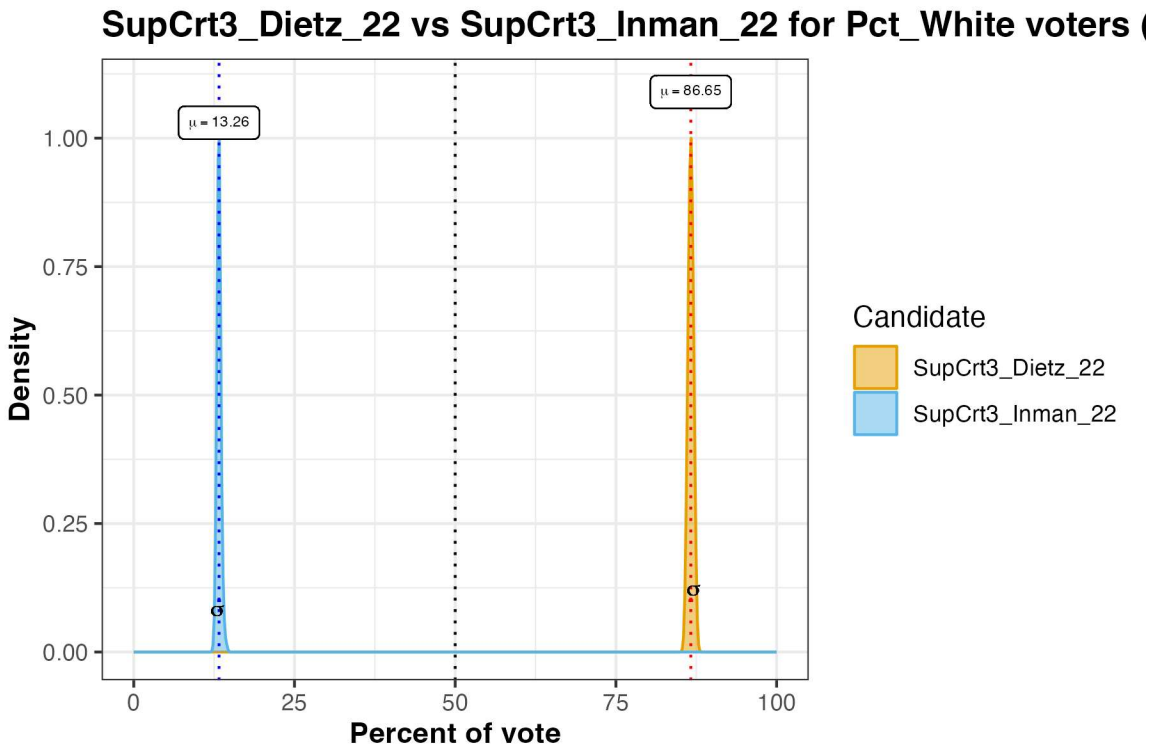
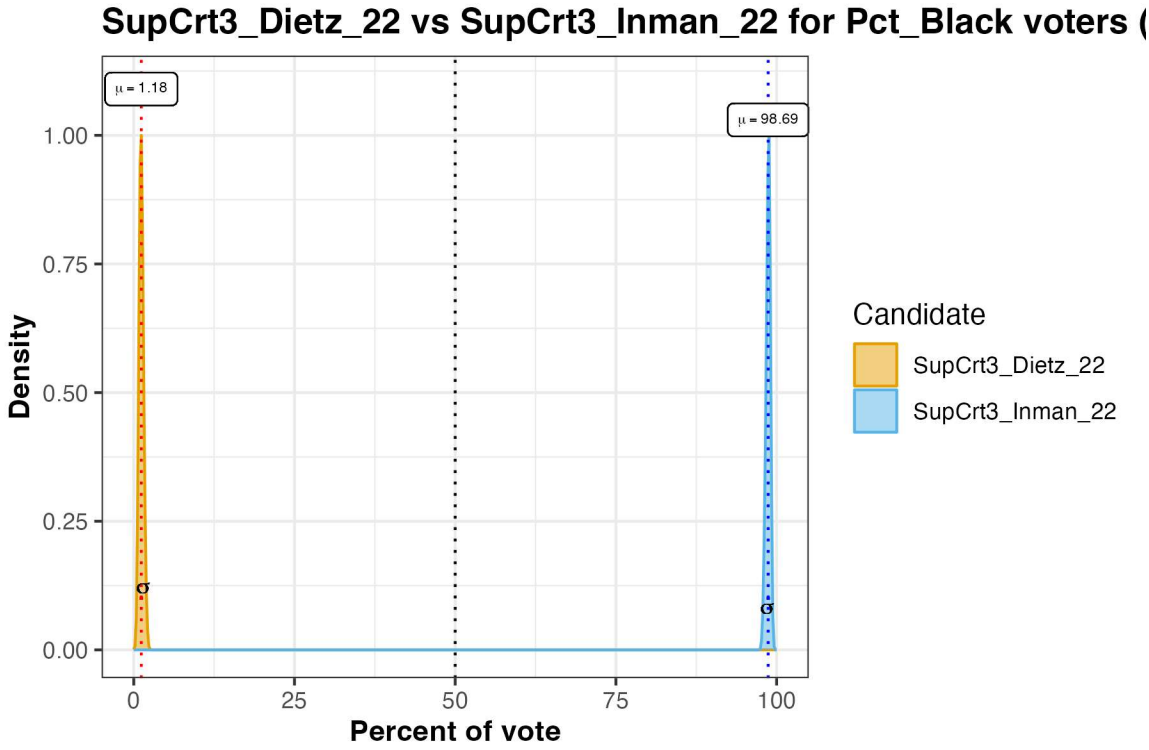


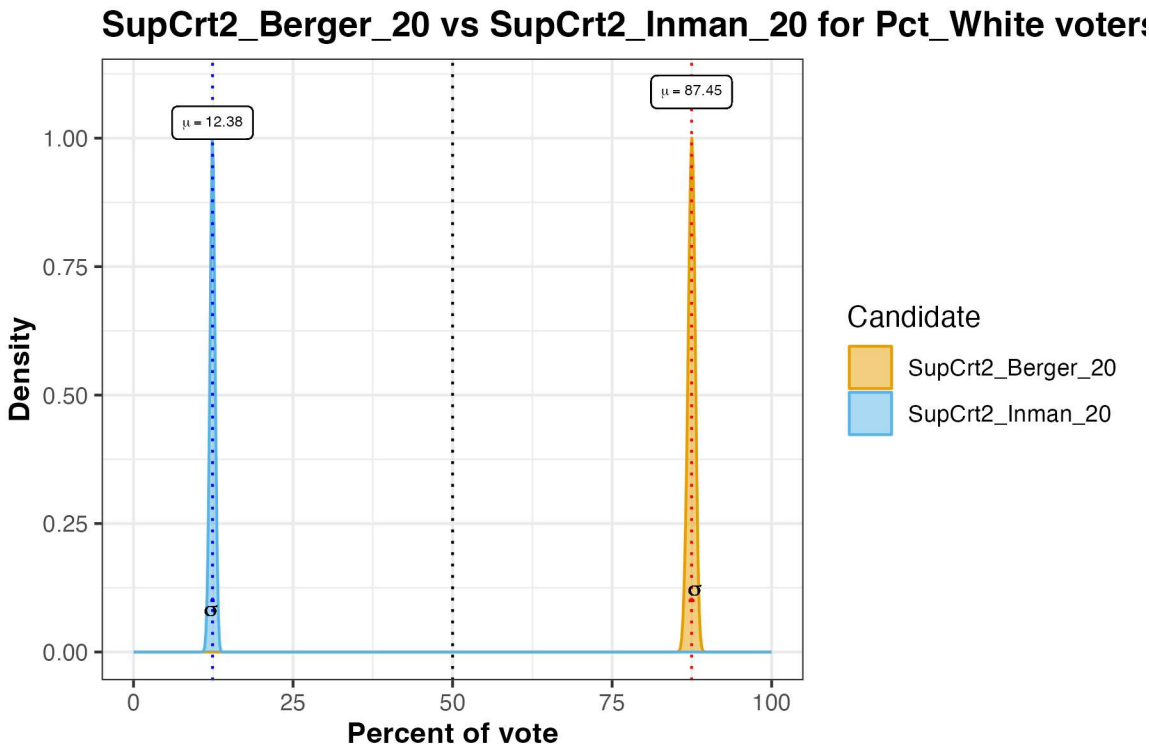


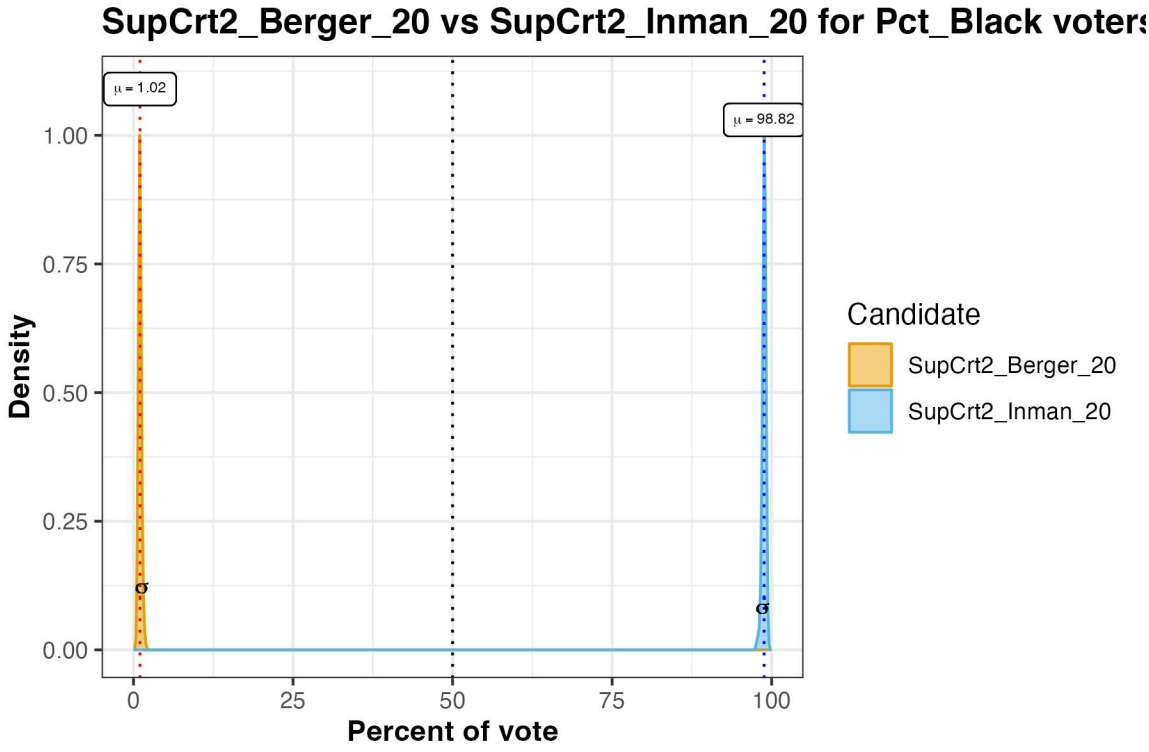
Northeast region RPV analysis: Black and white point estimates and confidence intervals



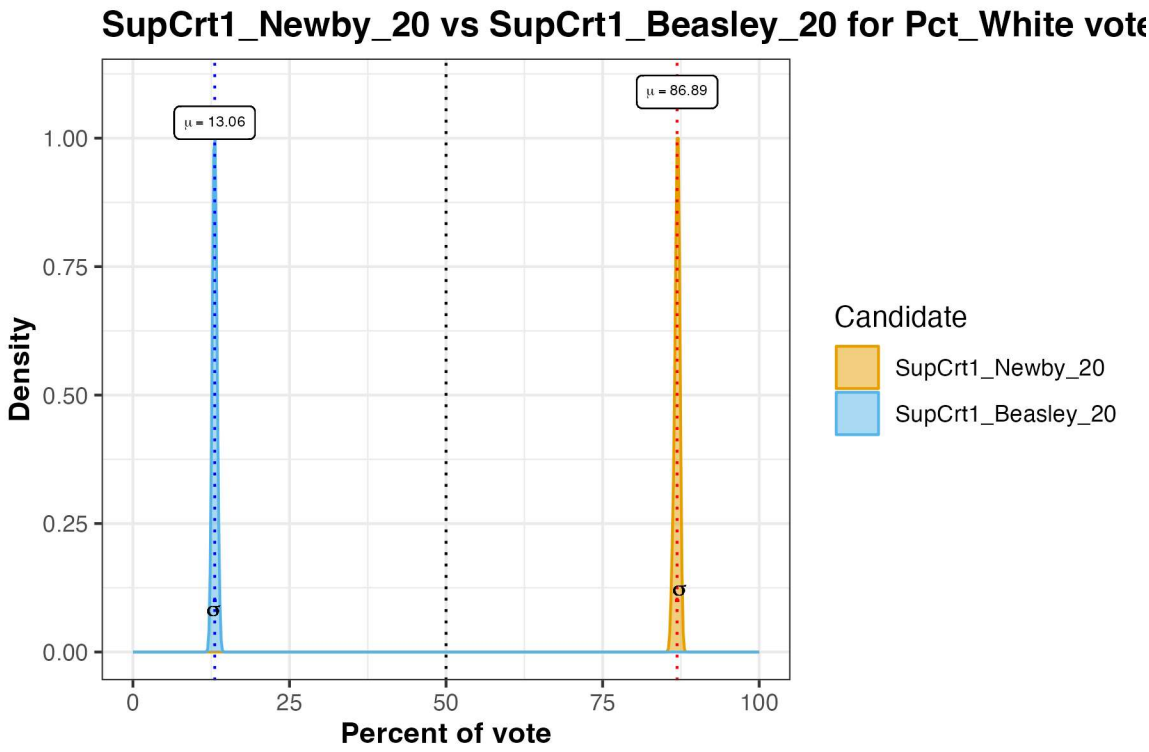


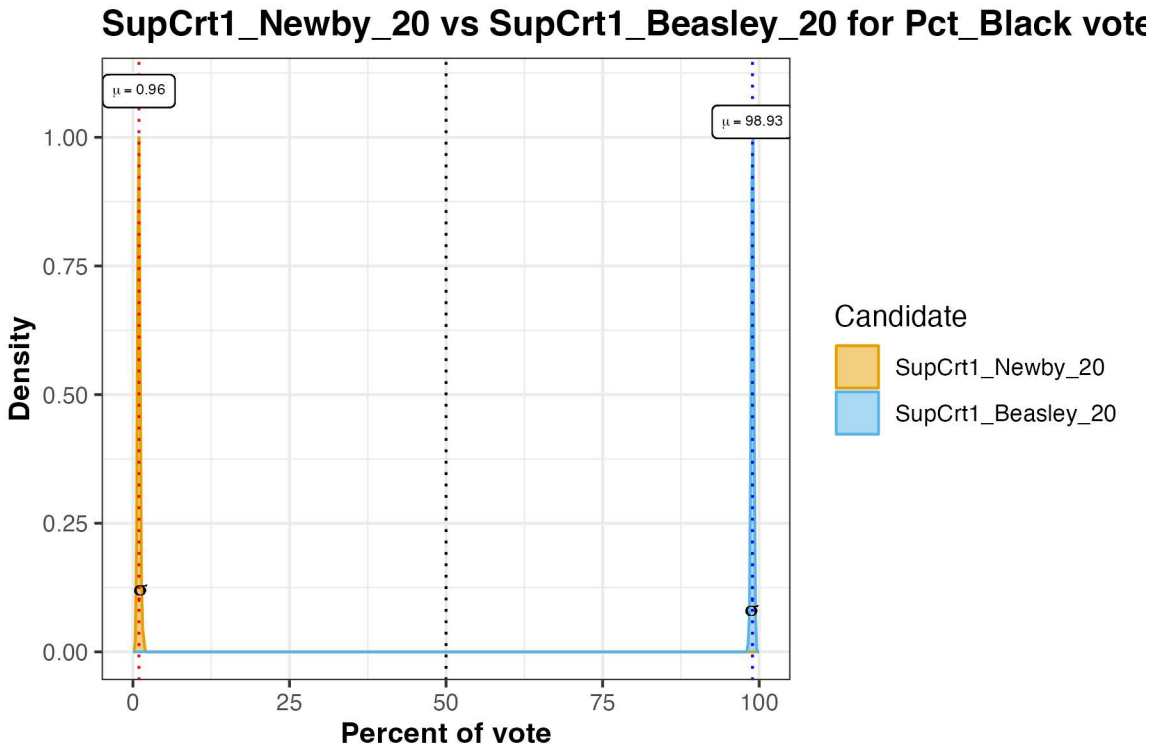
Northeast region RPV analysis: Black and white point estimates and confidence intervals



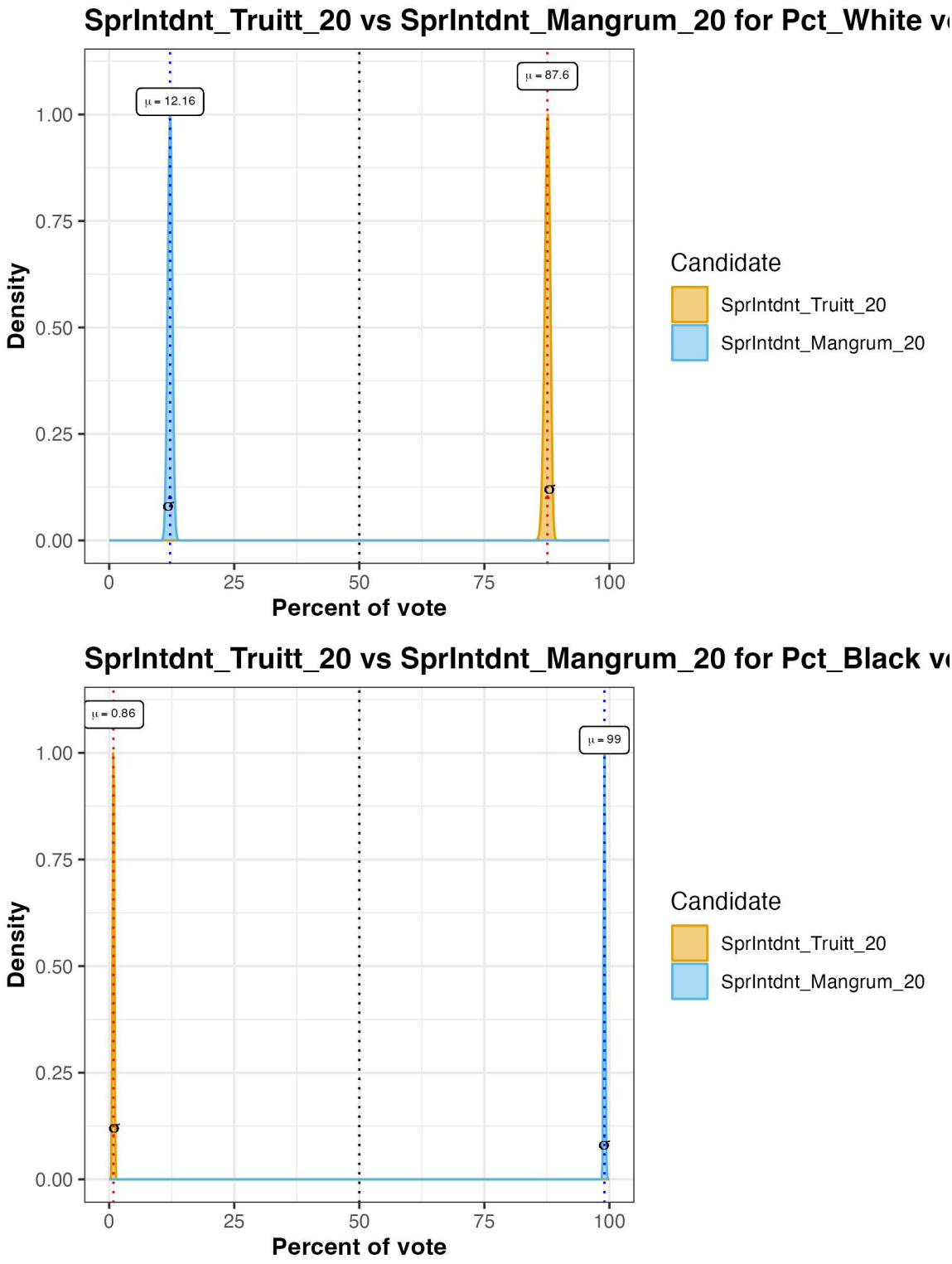


Northeast region RPV analysis: Black and white point estimates and confidence intervals

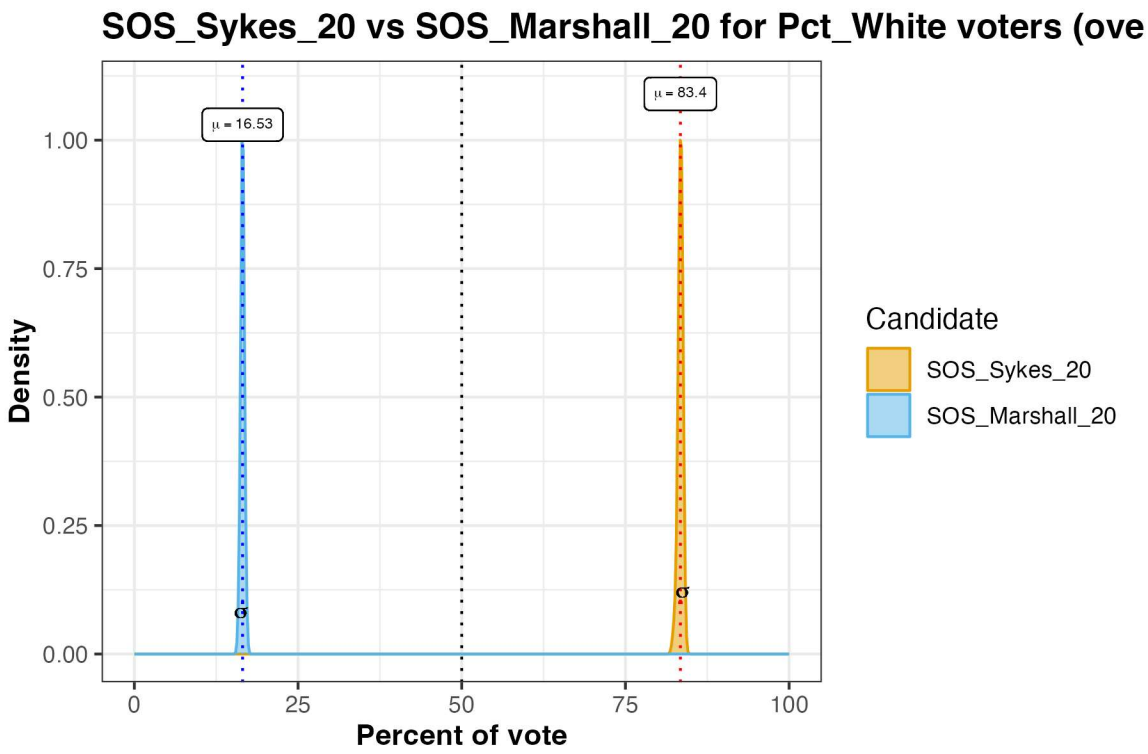


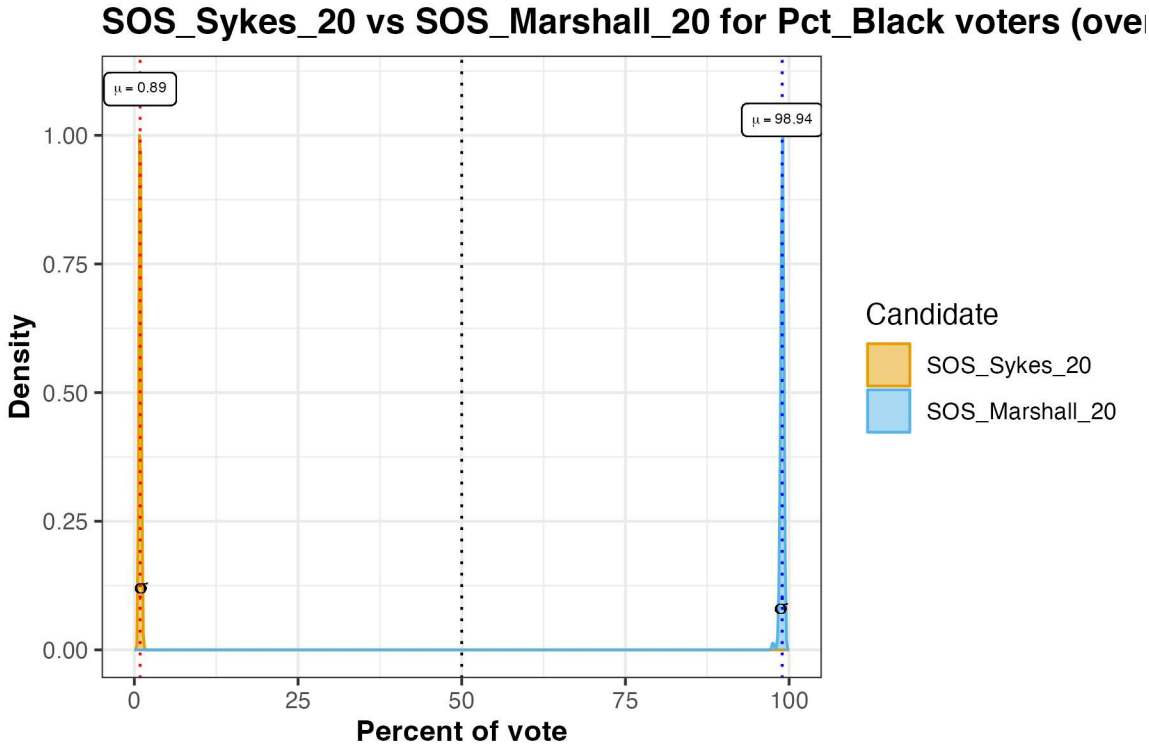


Northeast region RPV analysis: Black and white point estimates and confidence intervals

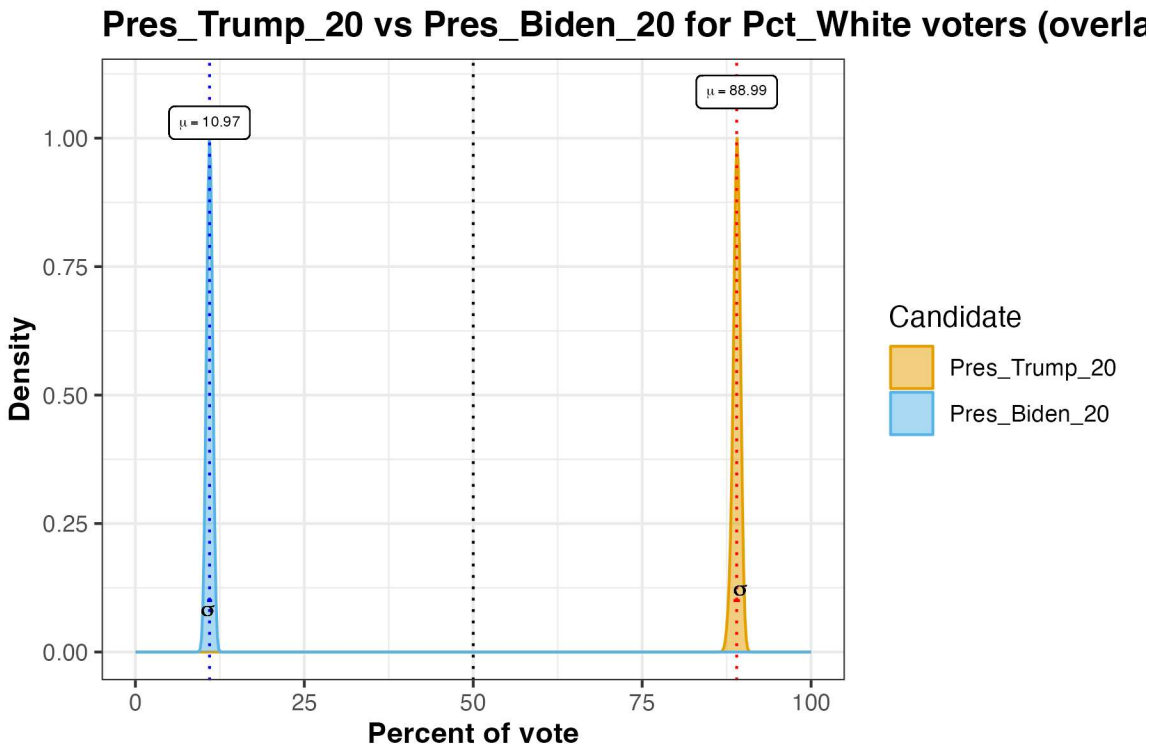


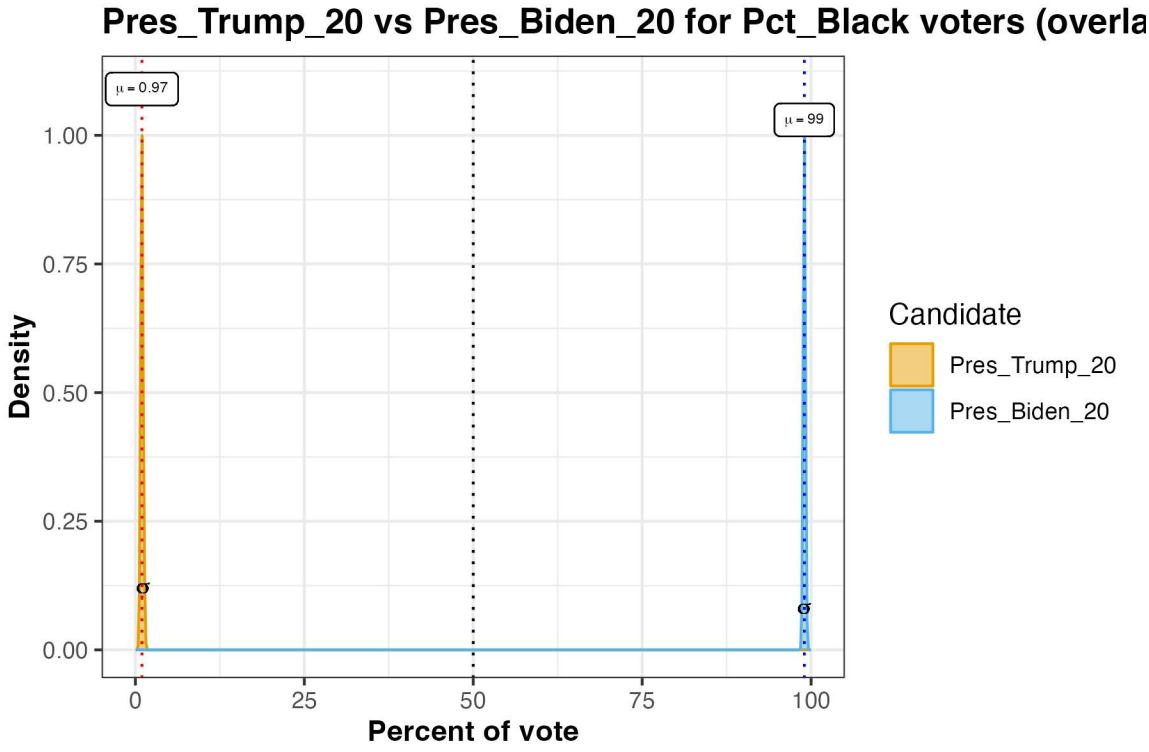
Northeast region RPV analysis: Black and white point estimates and confidence intervals





Northeast region RPV analysis: Black and white point estimates and confidence intervals





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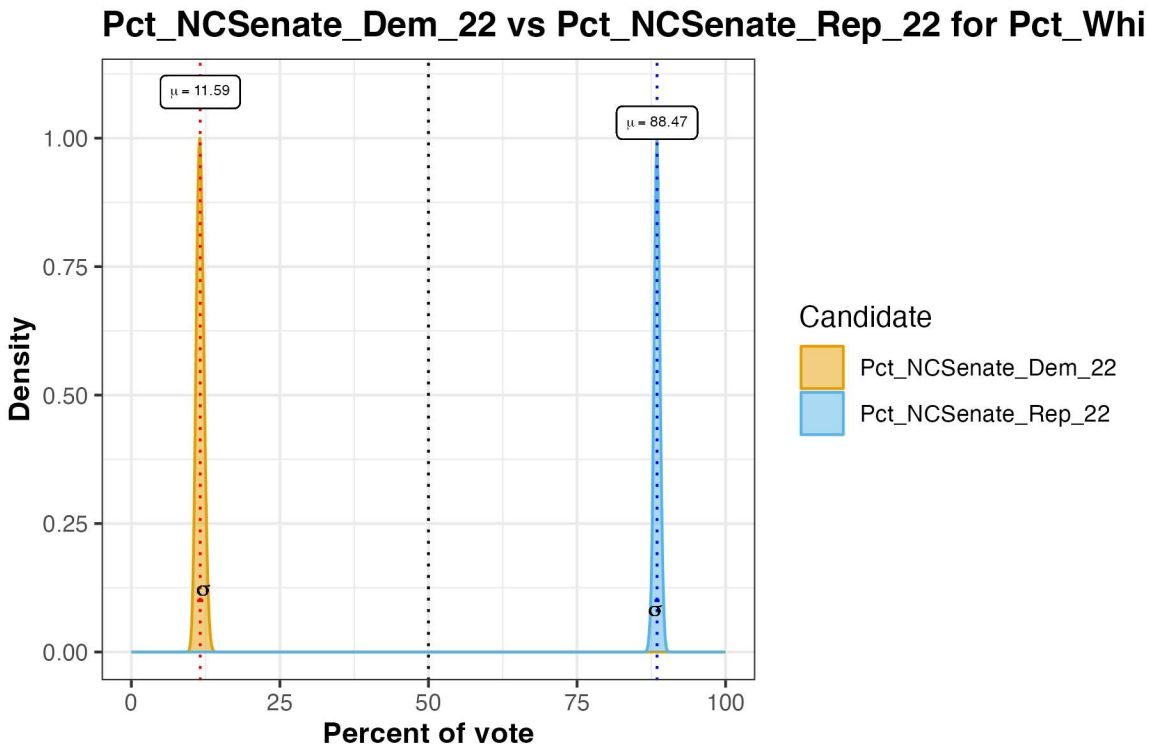
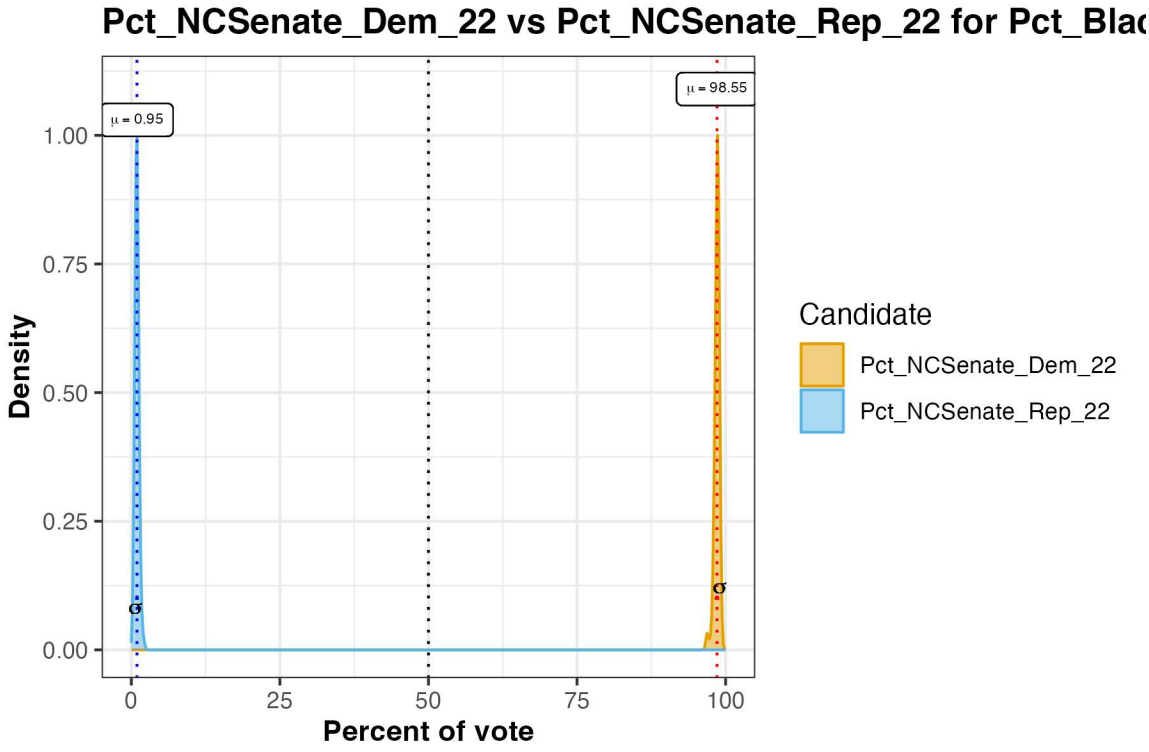
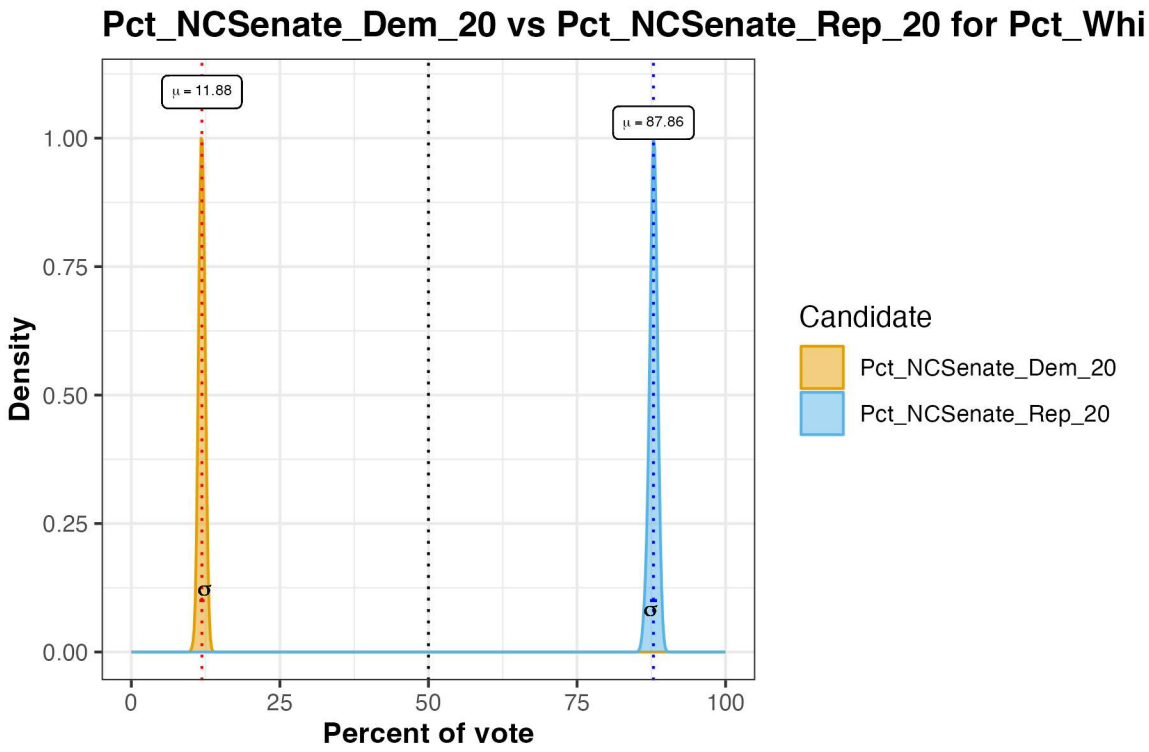
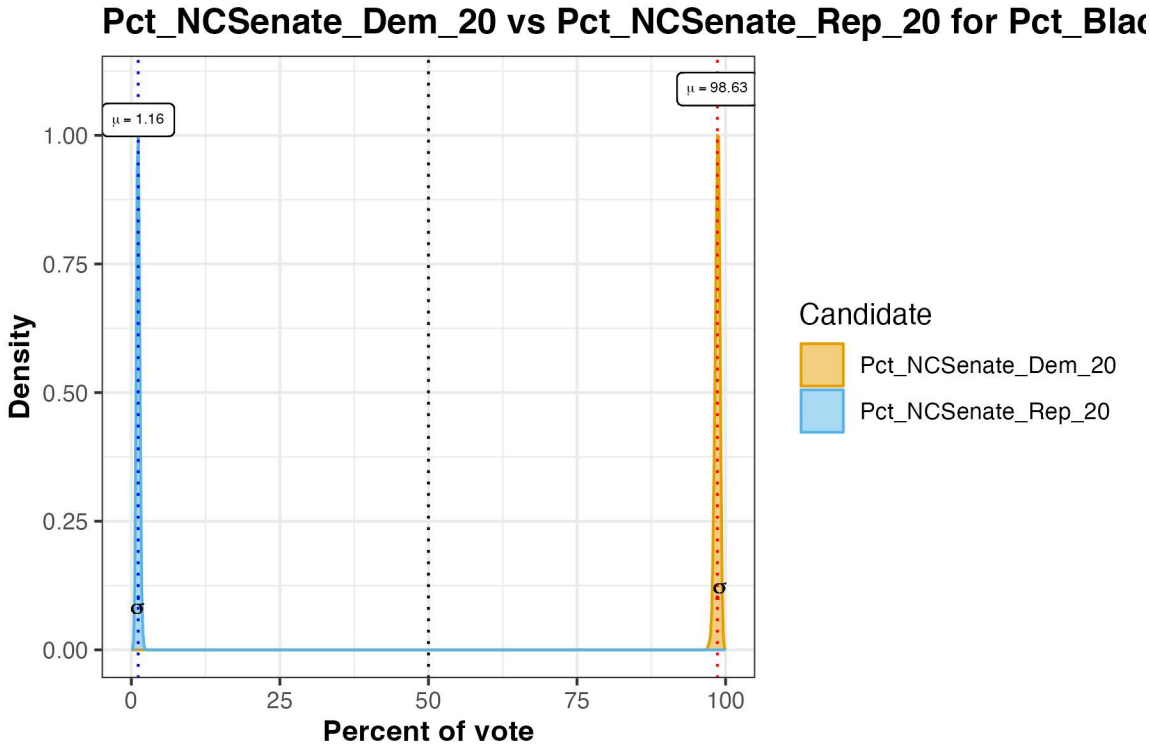


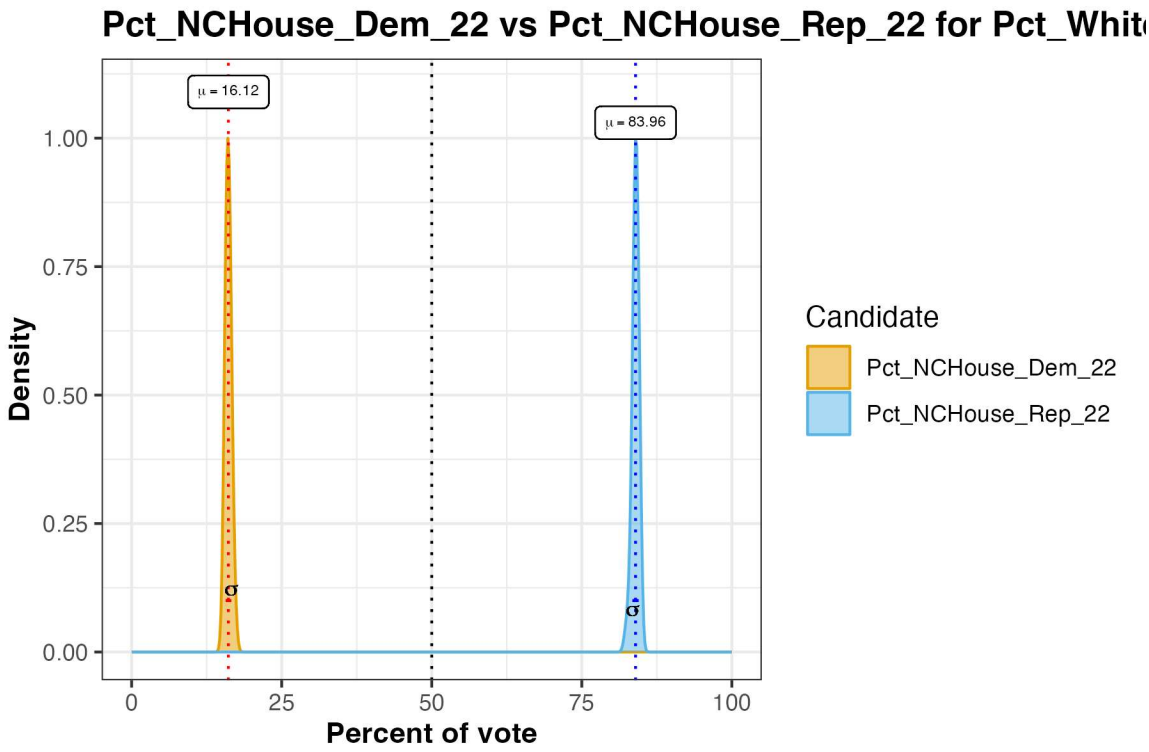


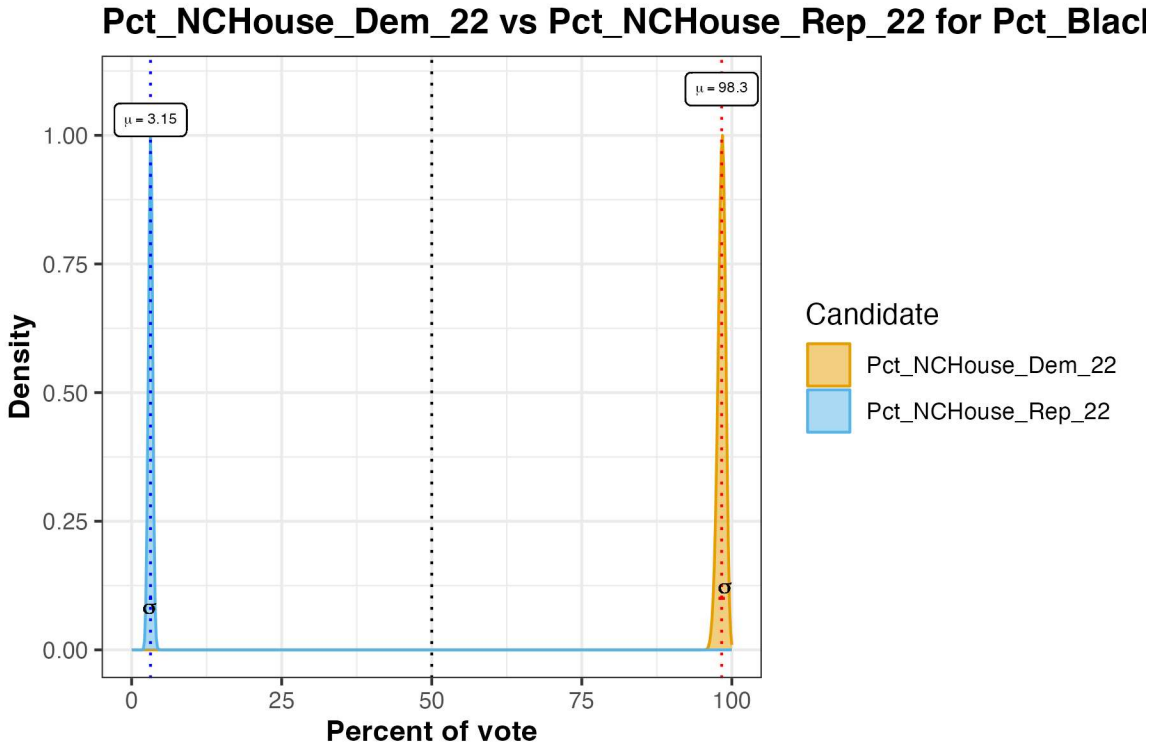
Northeast region RPV analysis: Black and white point estimates and confidence intervals



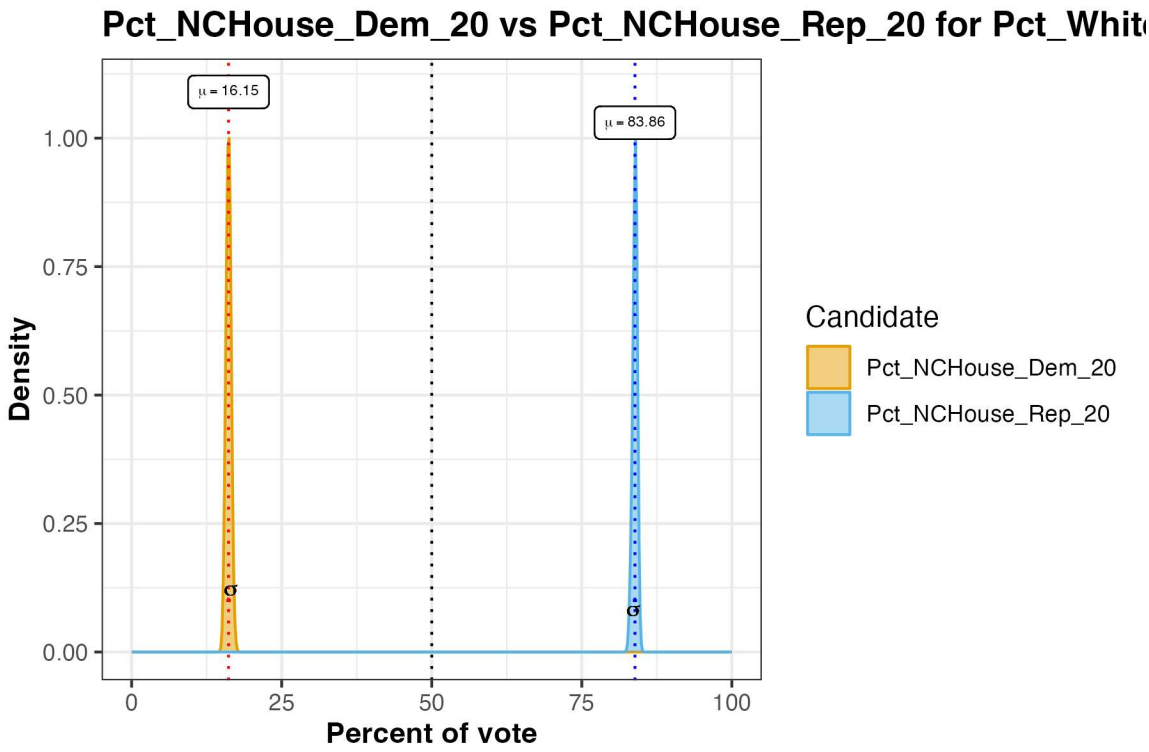


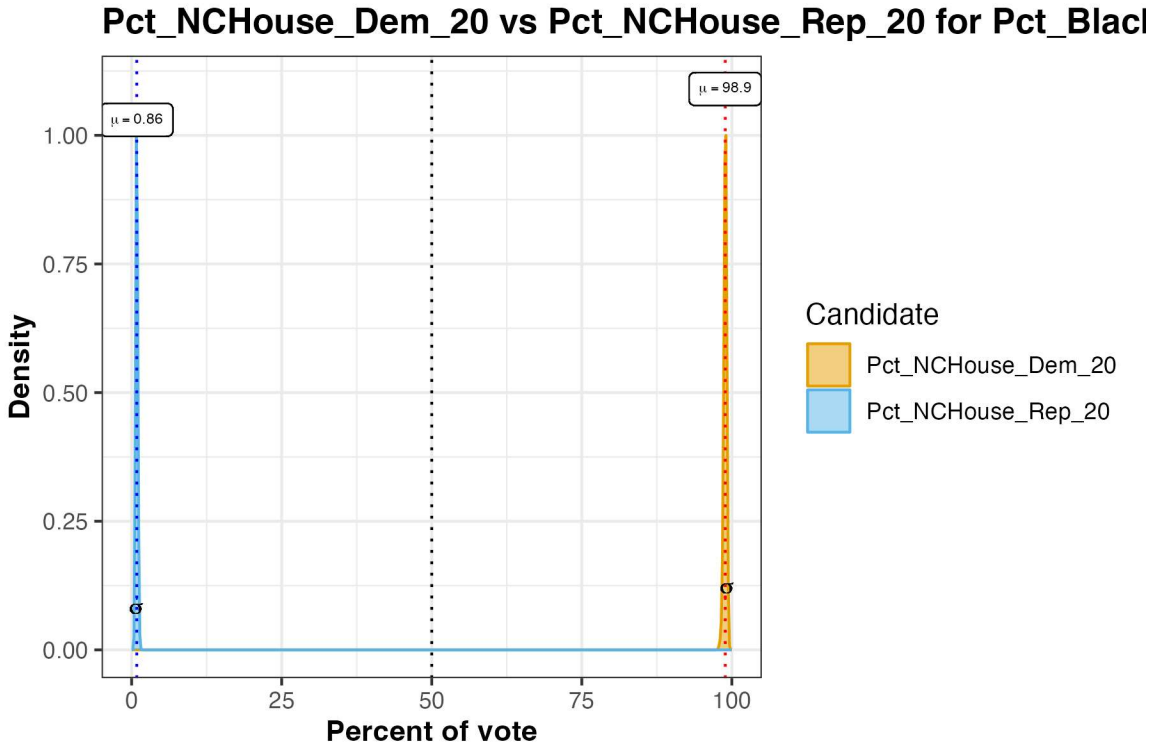
Northeast region RPV analysis: Black and white point estimates and confidence intervals





Northeast region RPV analysis: Black and white point estimates and confidence intervals





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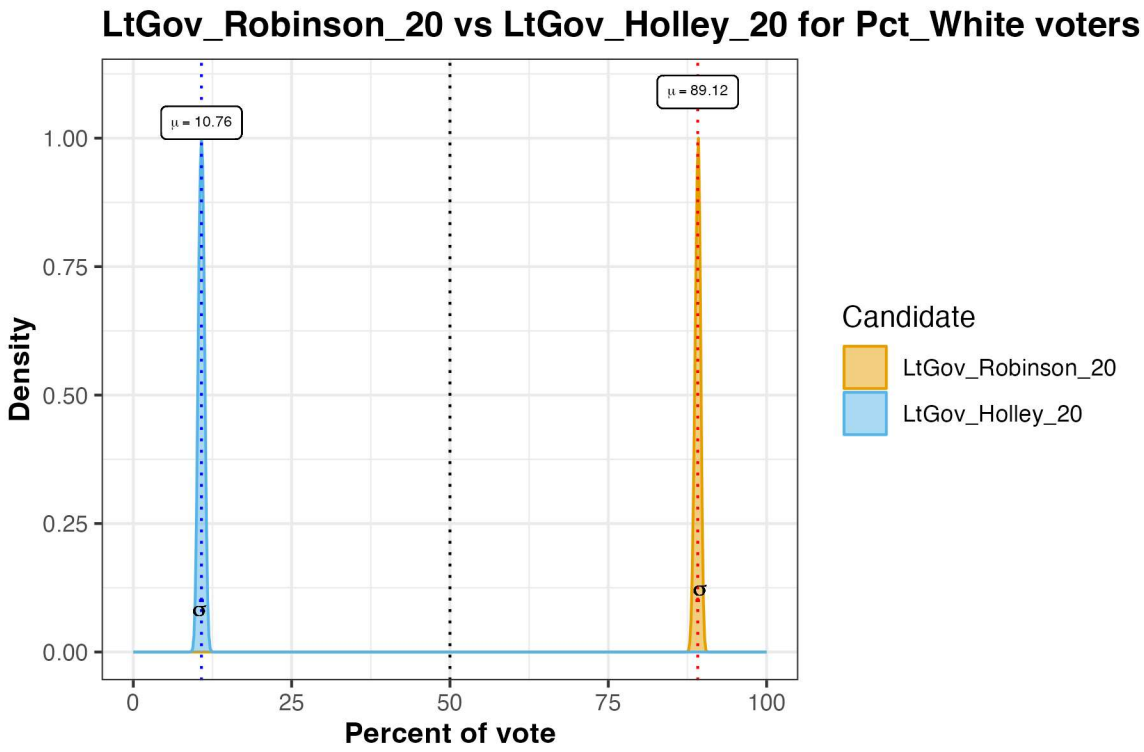

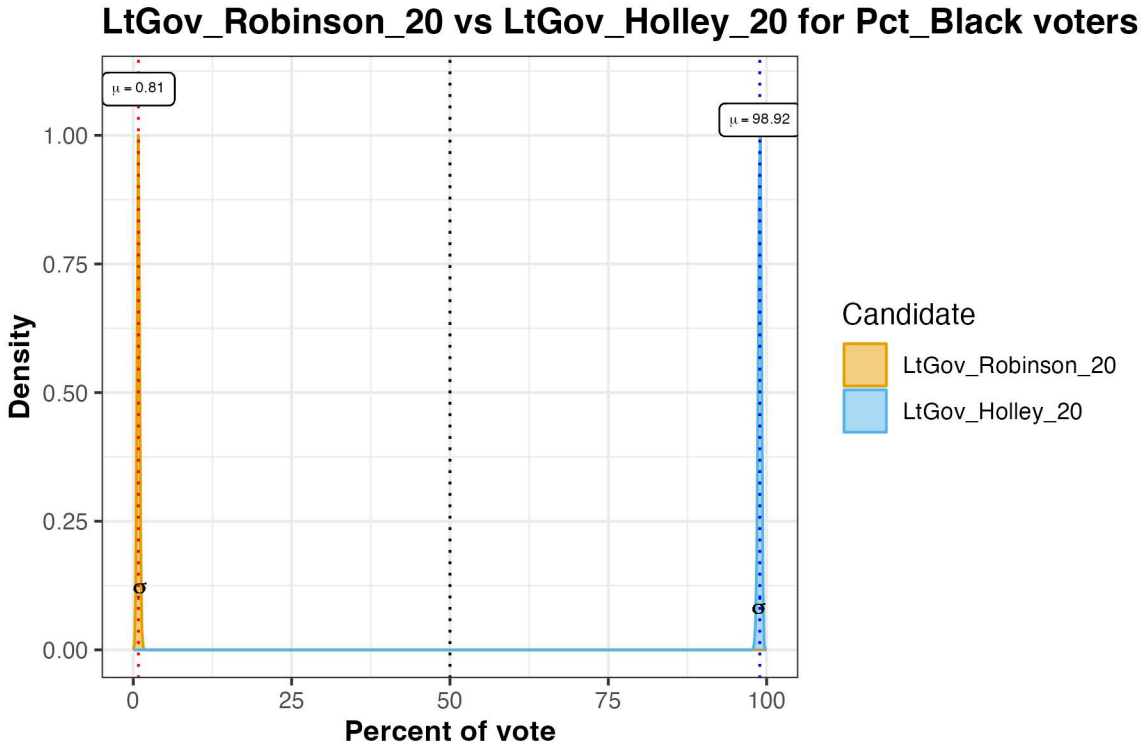

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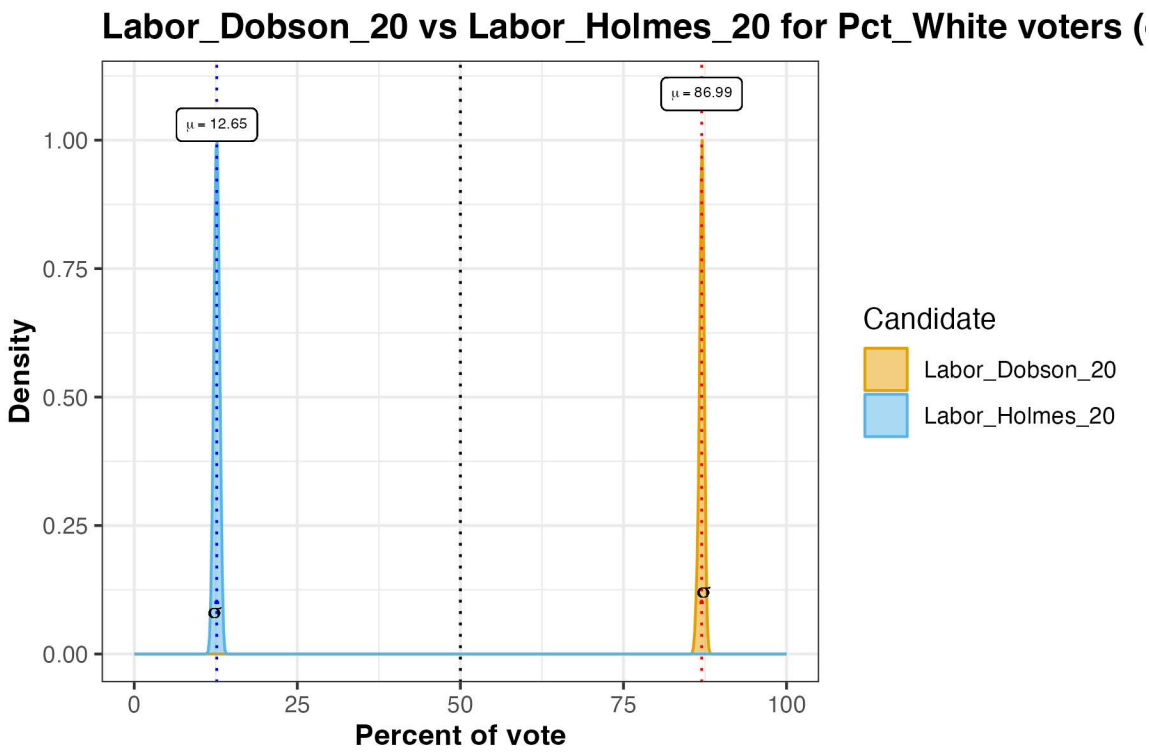

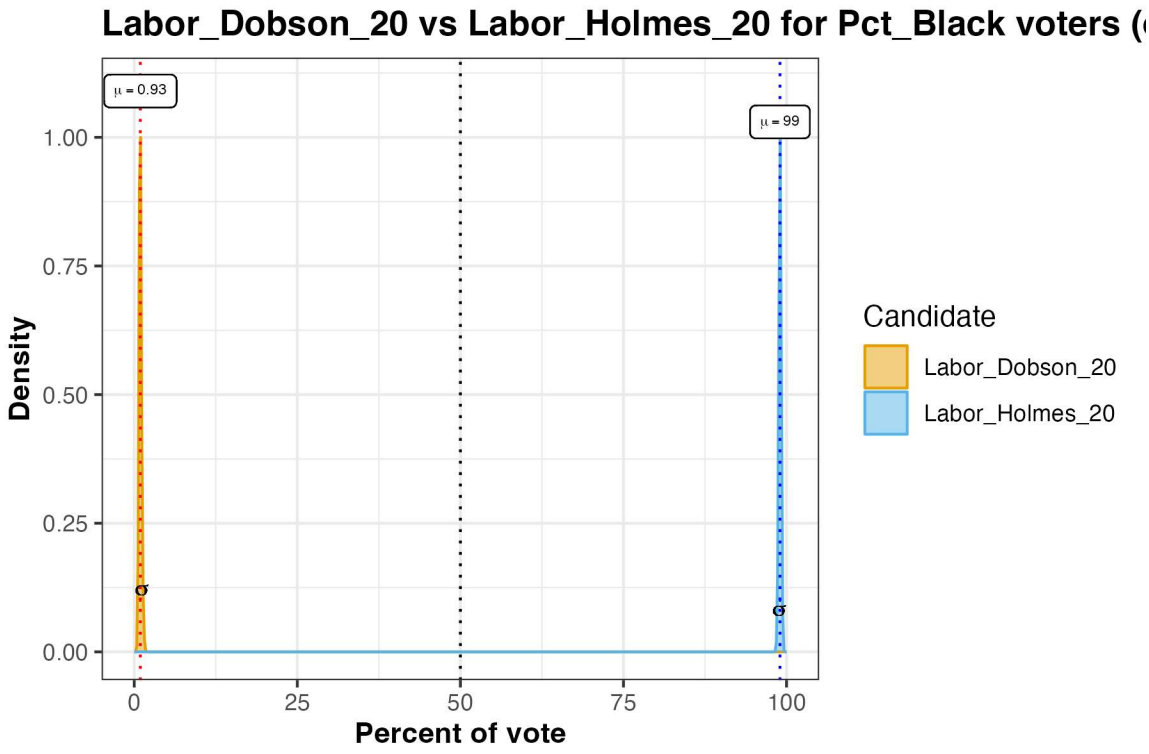

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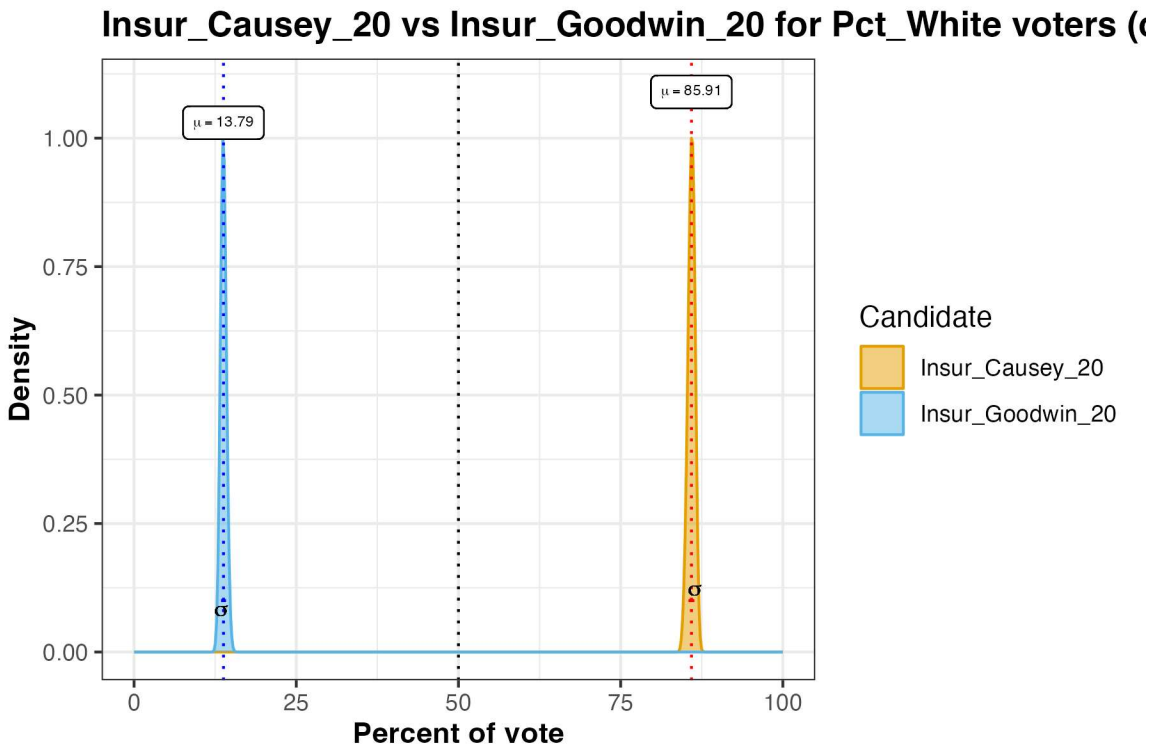

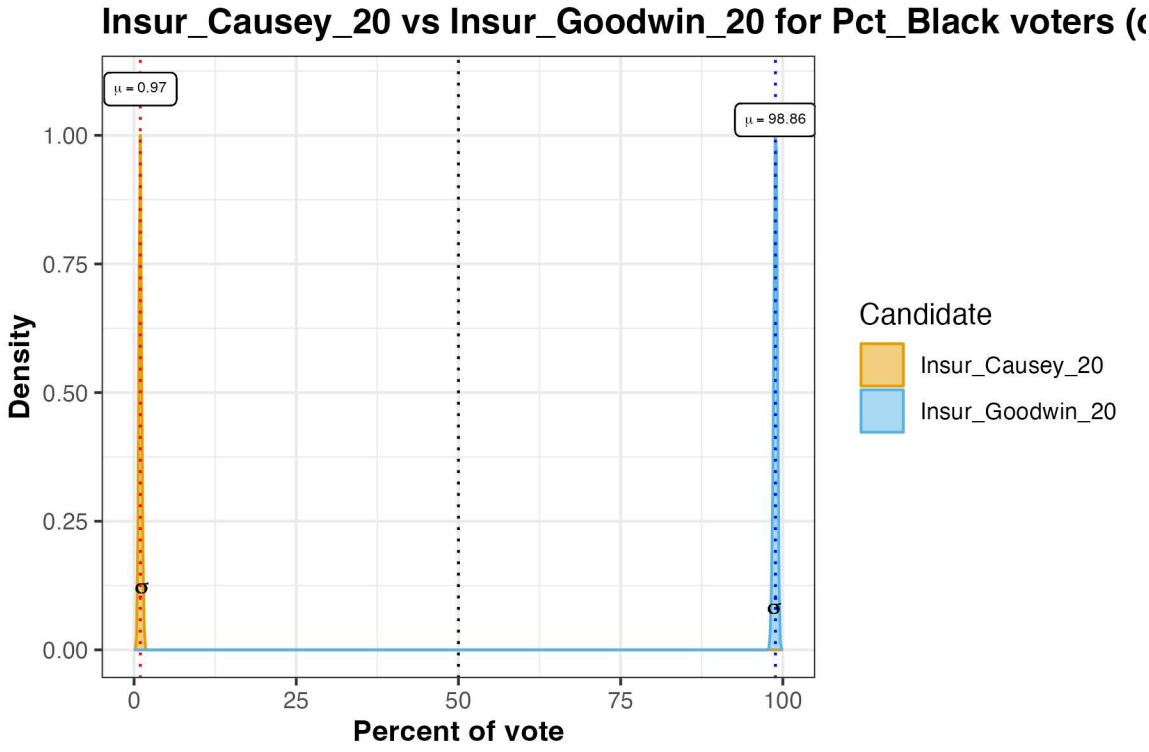

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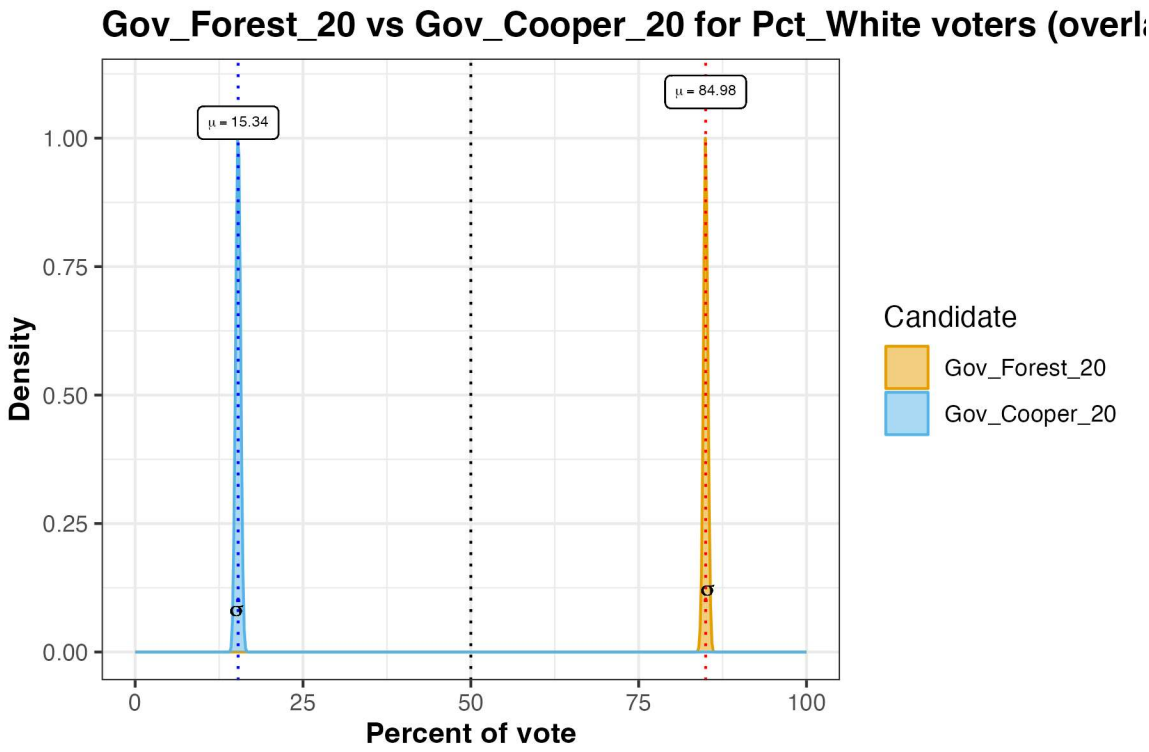

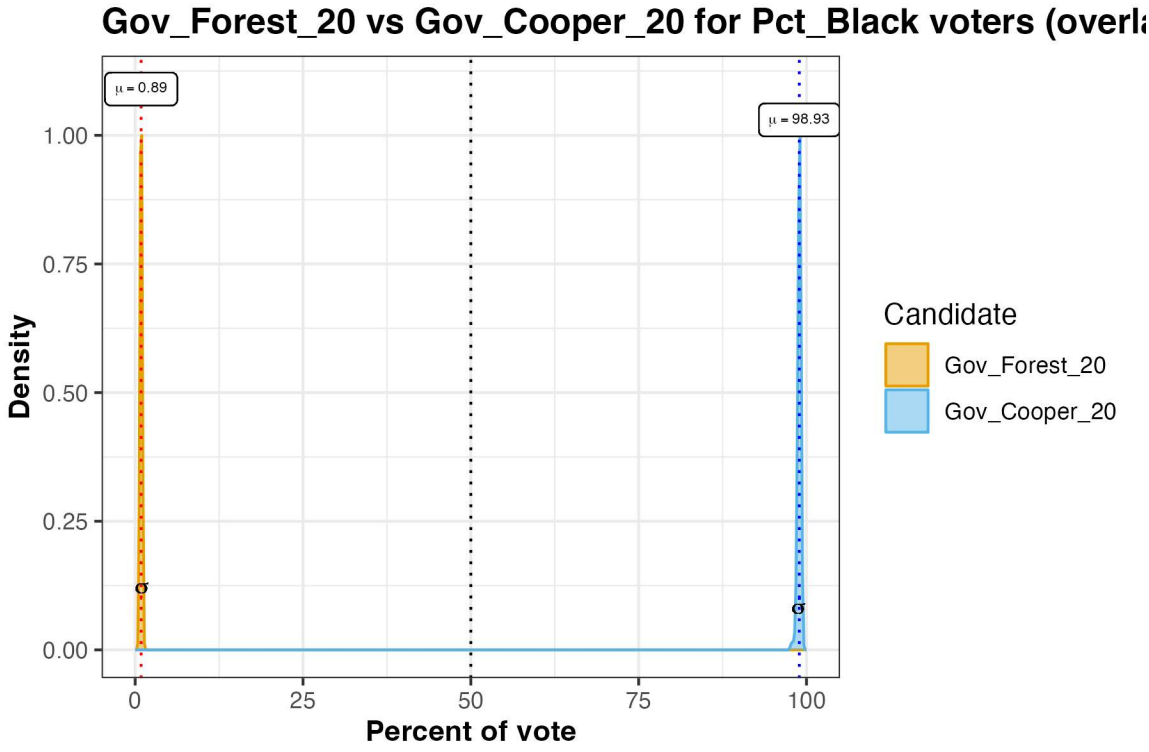

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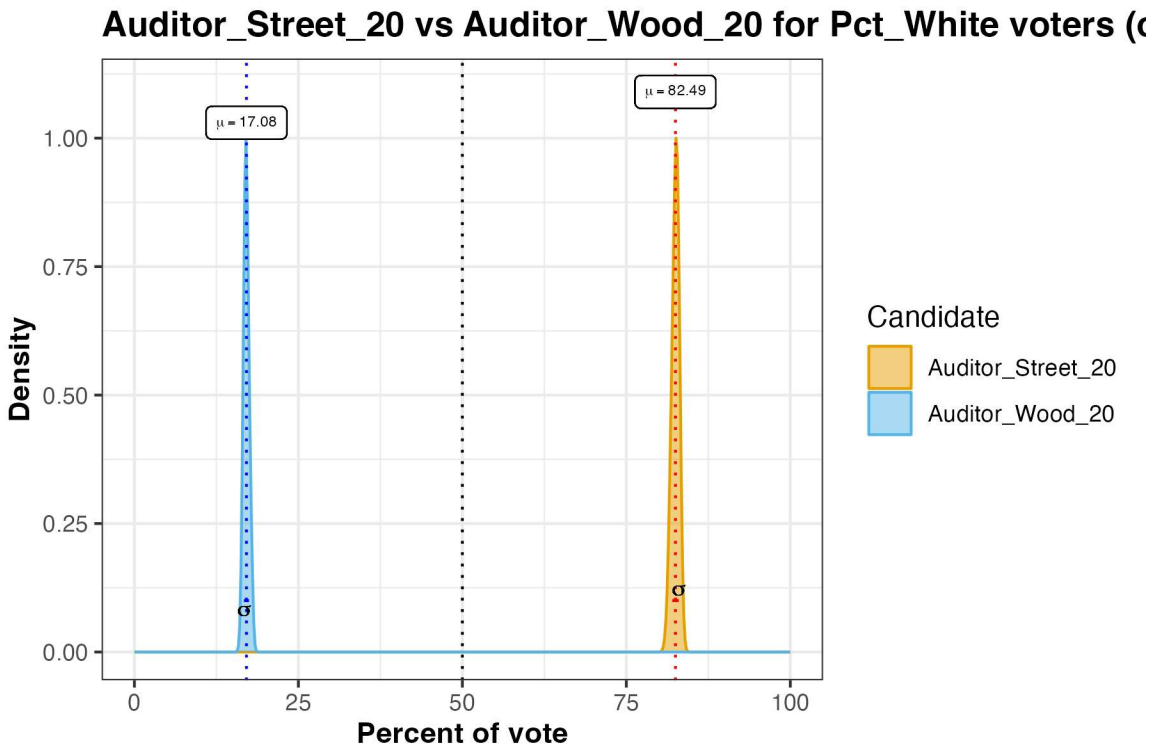

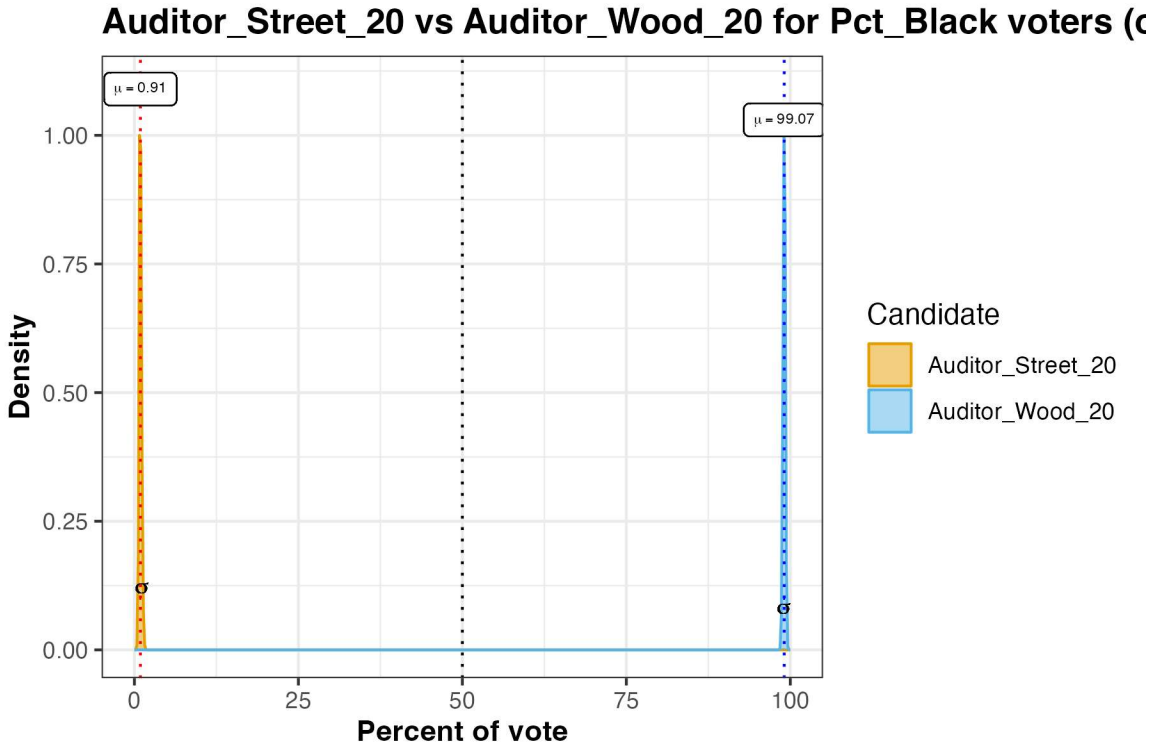

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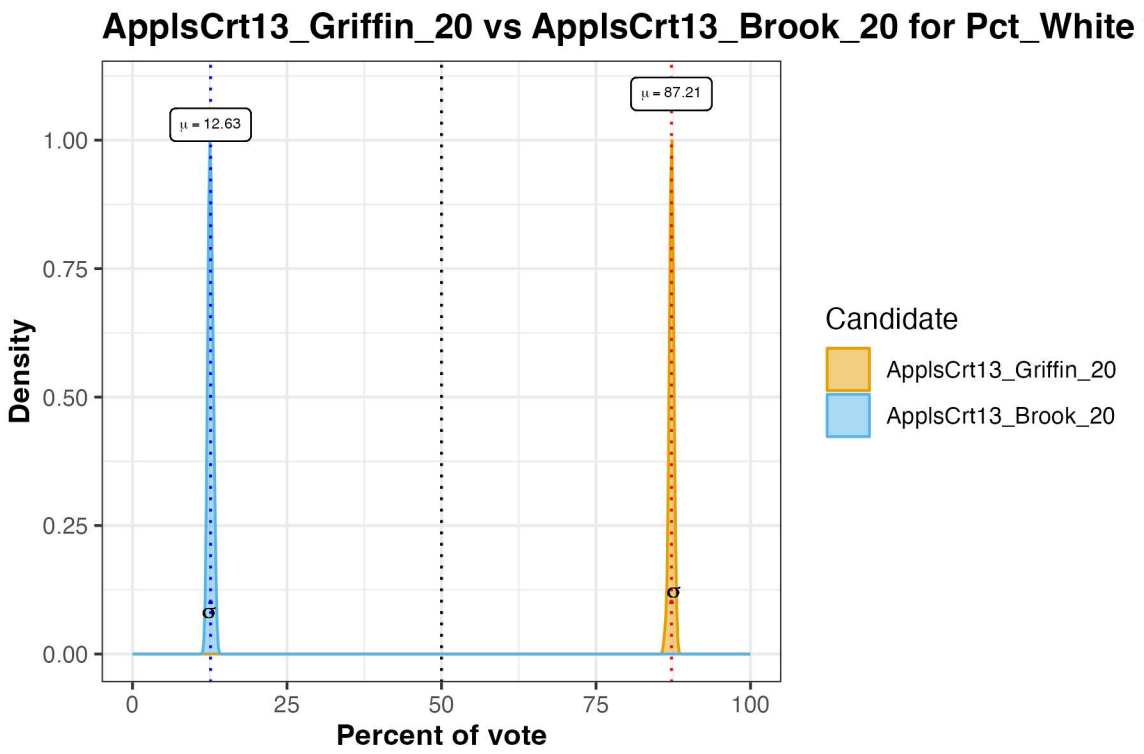
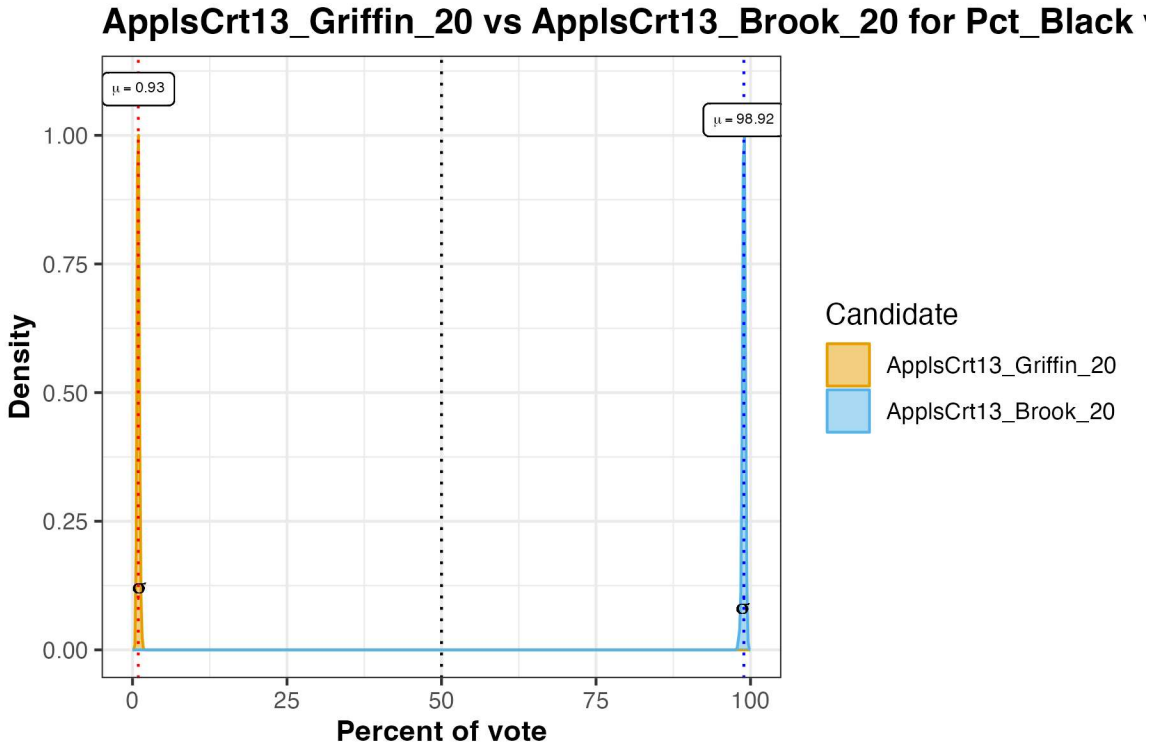
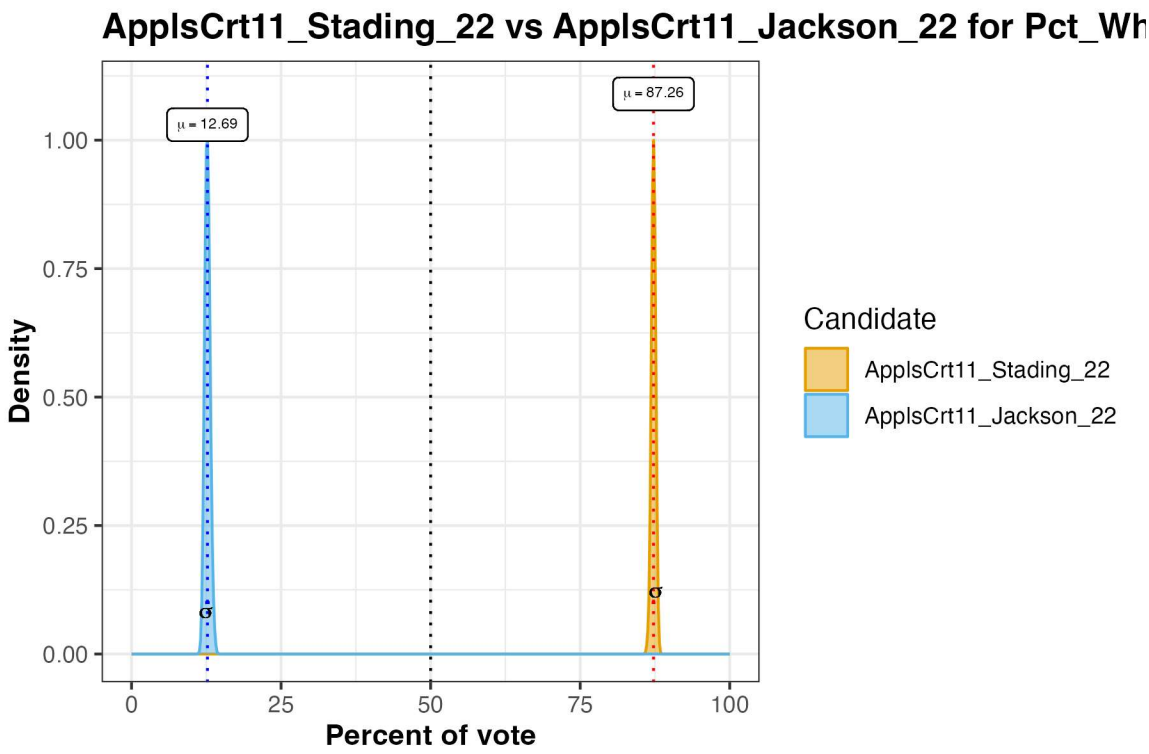
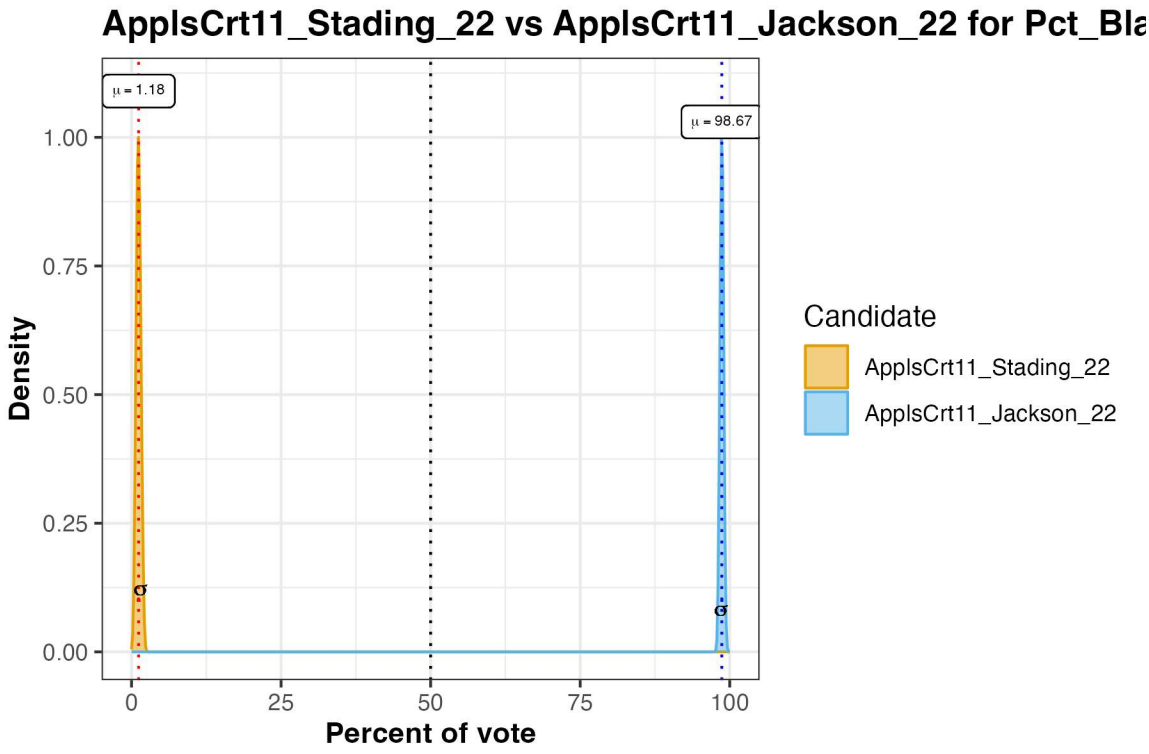




Northeast region RPV analysis: Black and white point estimates and confidence intervals





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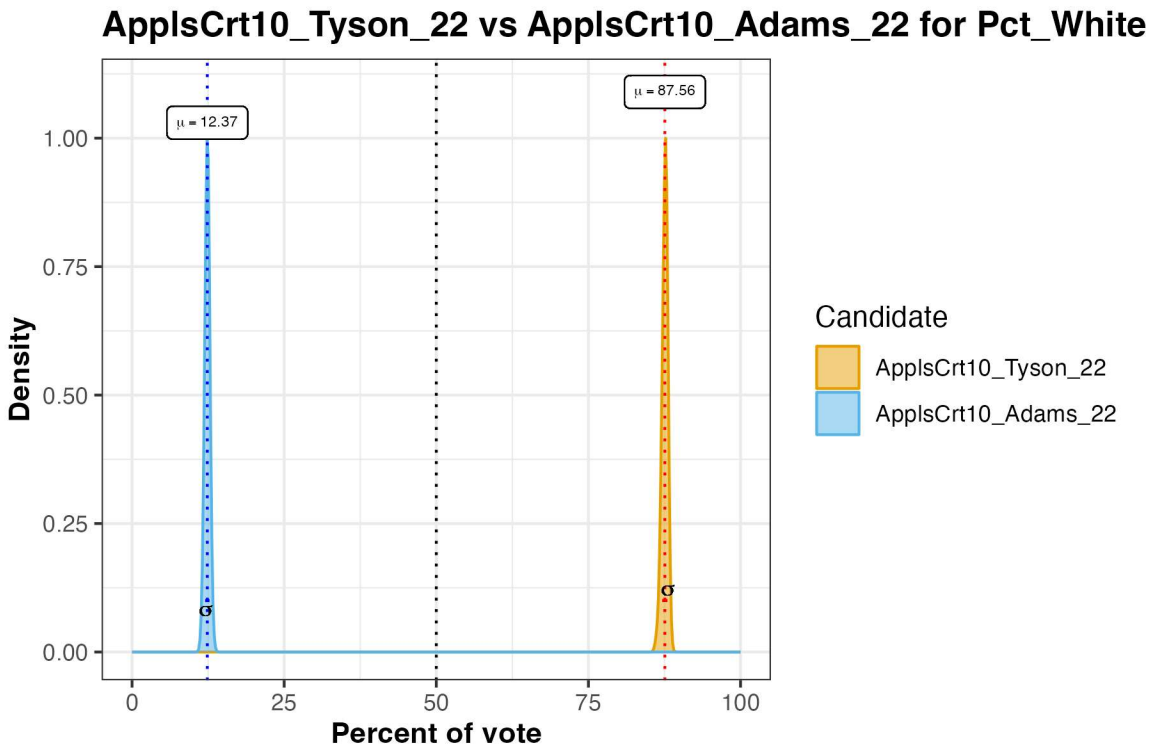
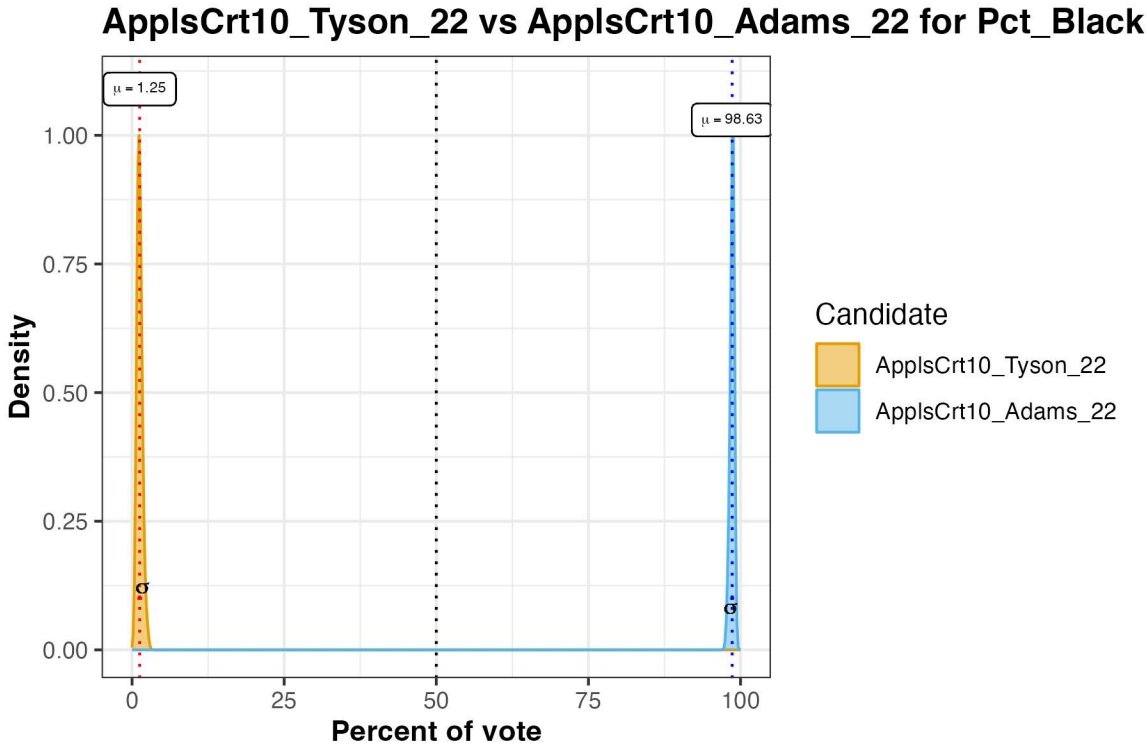
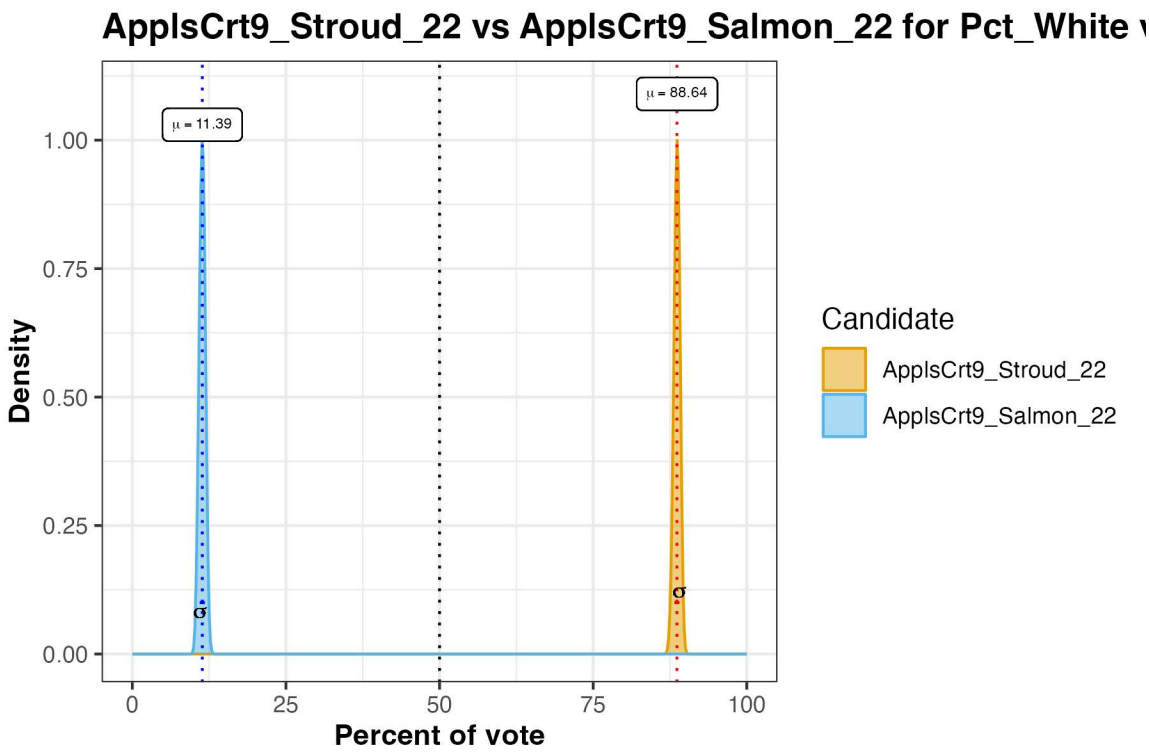
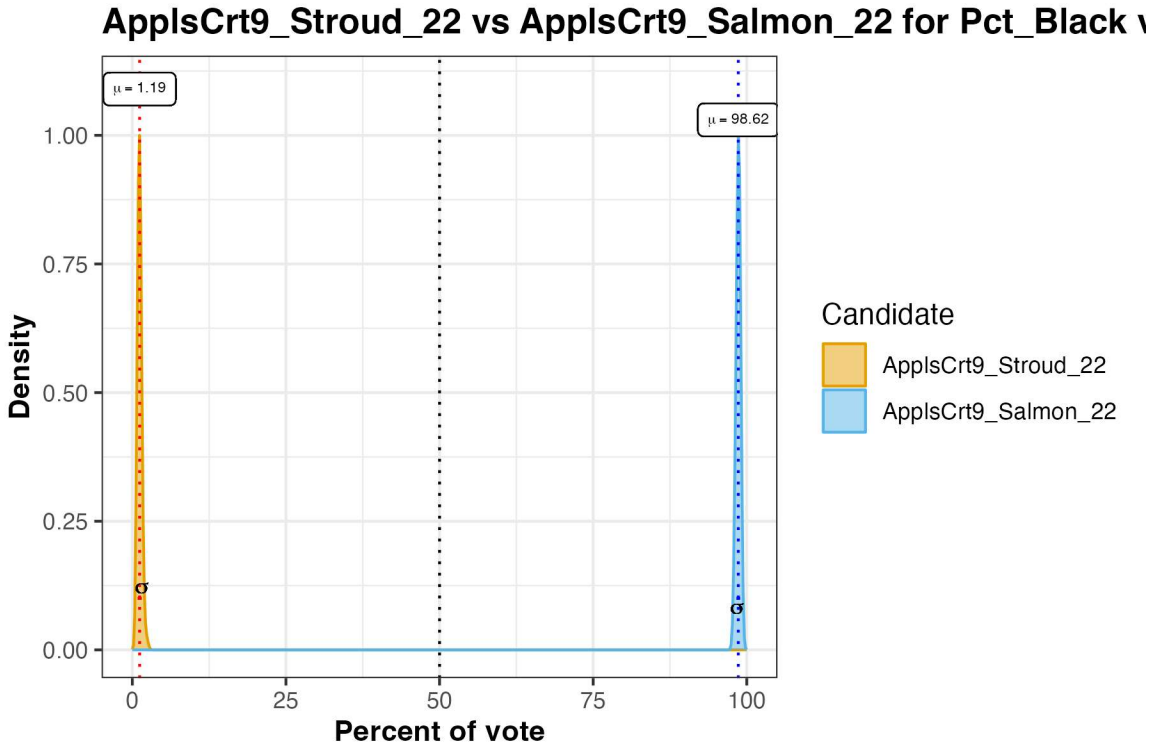




Northeast region RPV analysis: Black and white point estimates and confidence intervals





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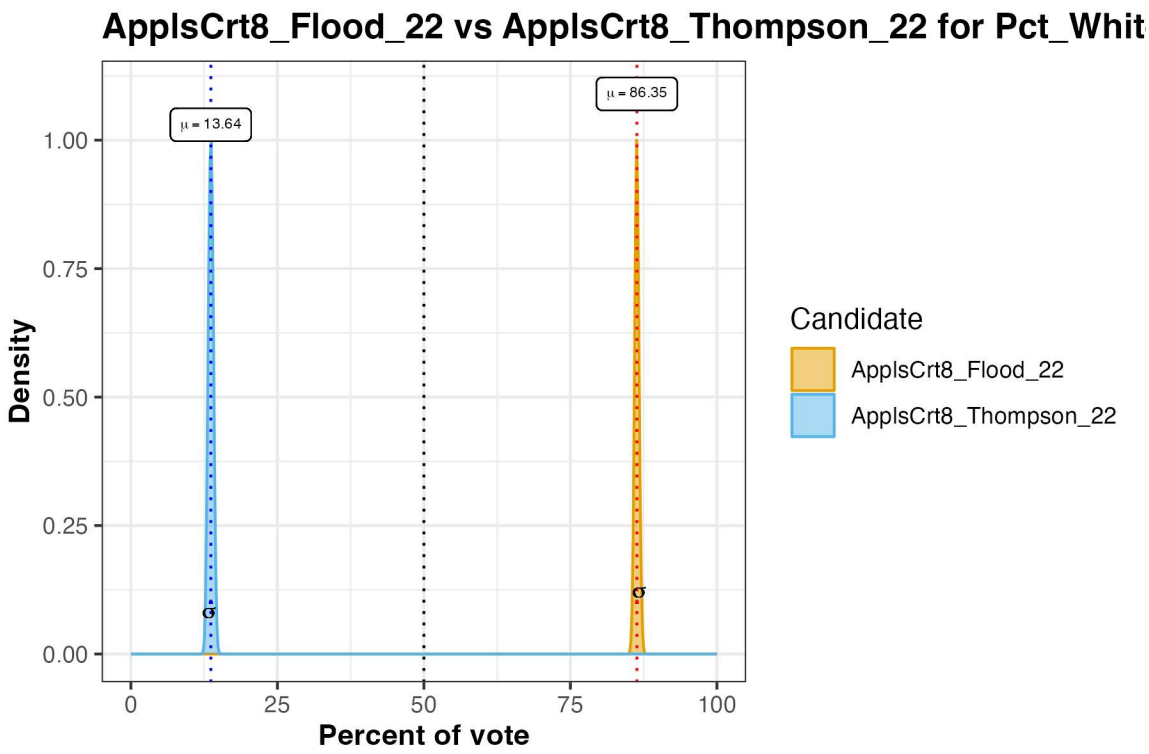

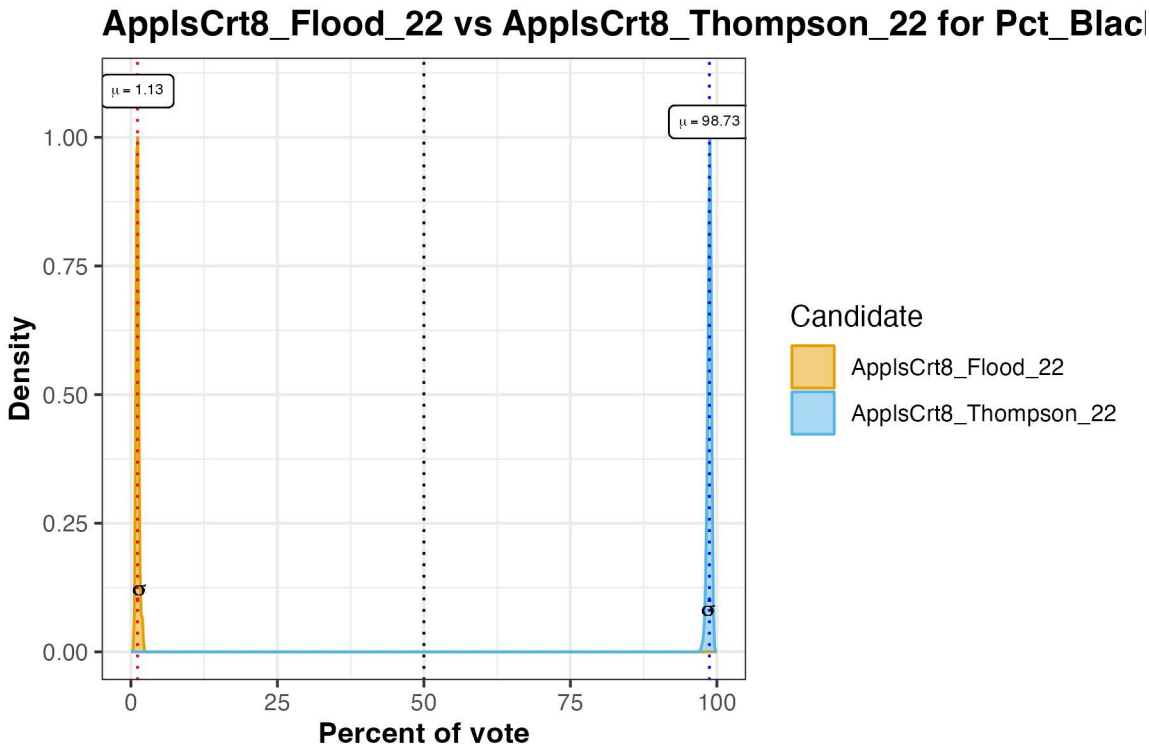

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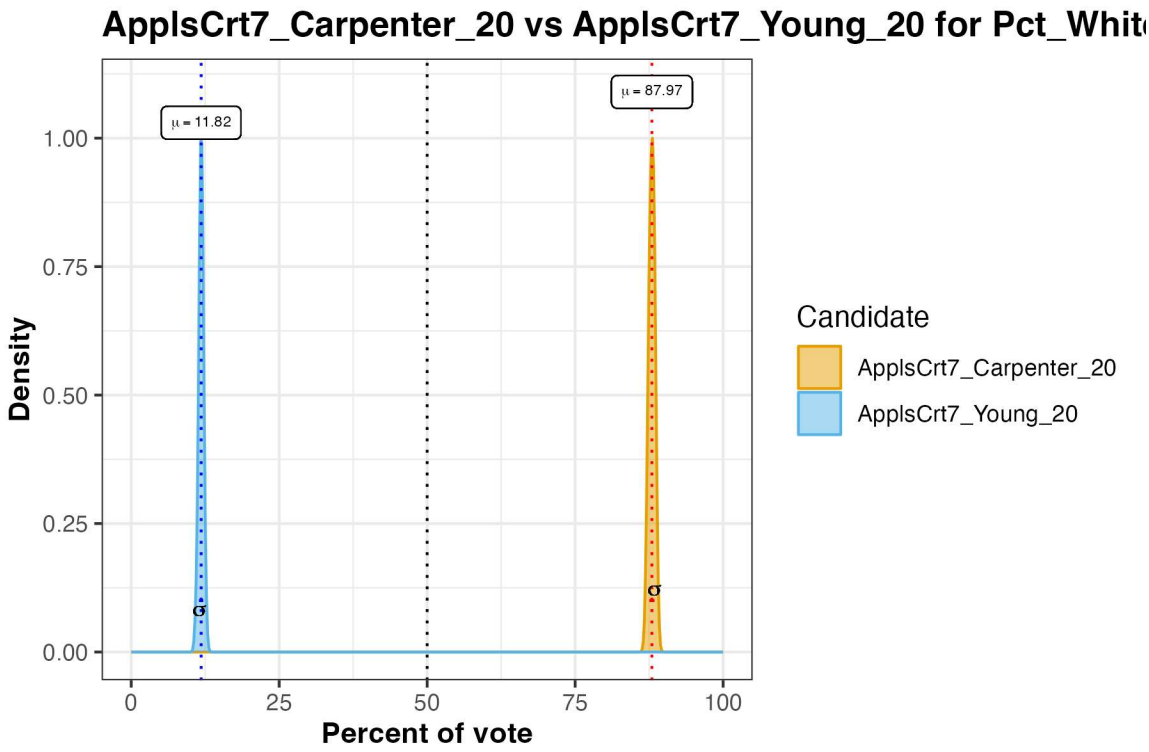

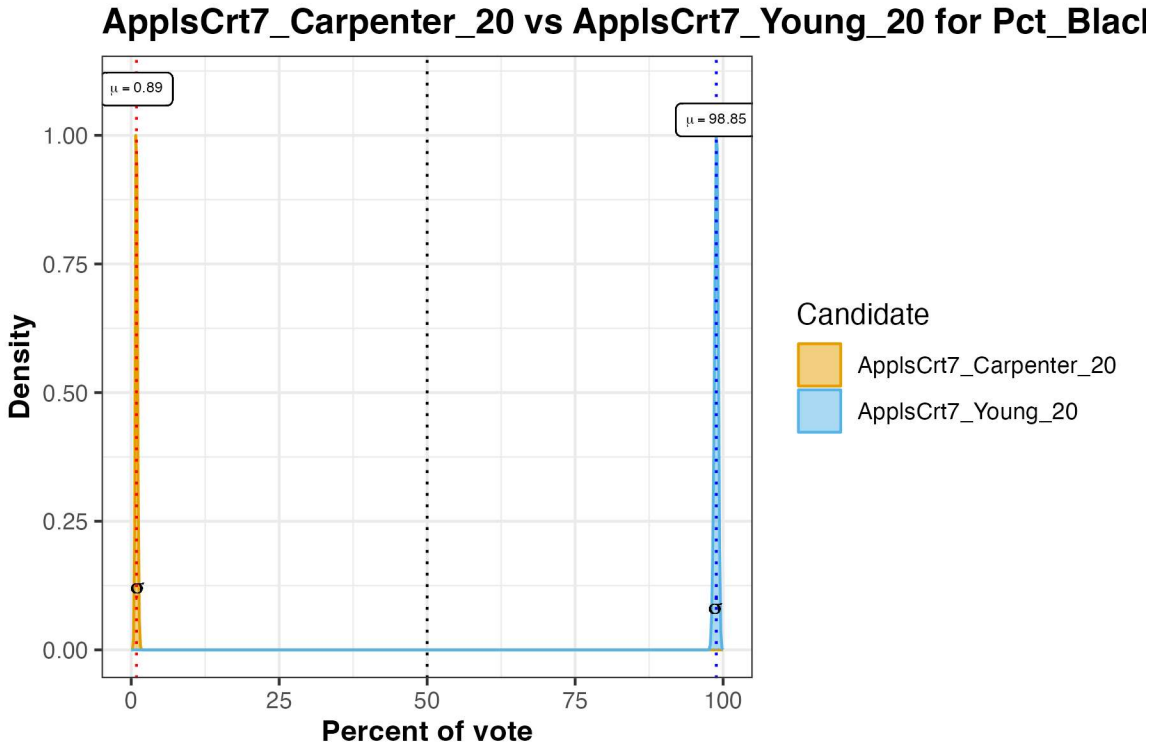

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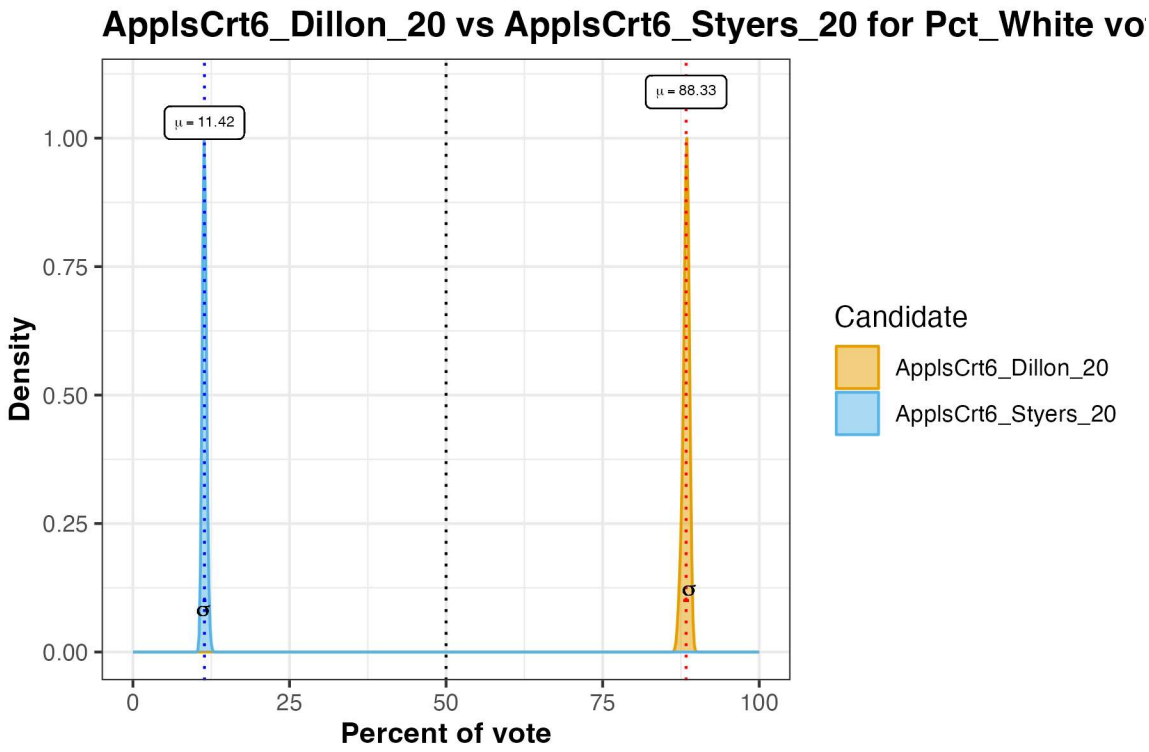

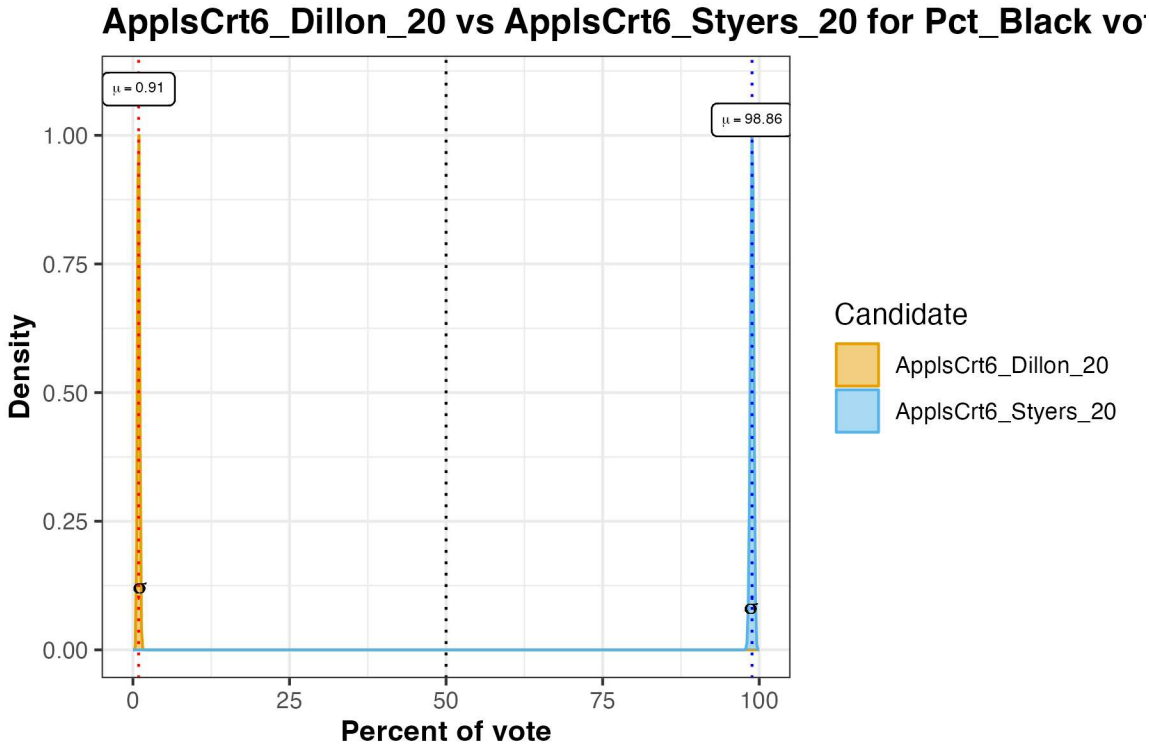

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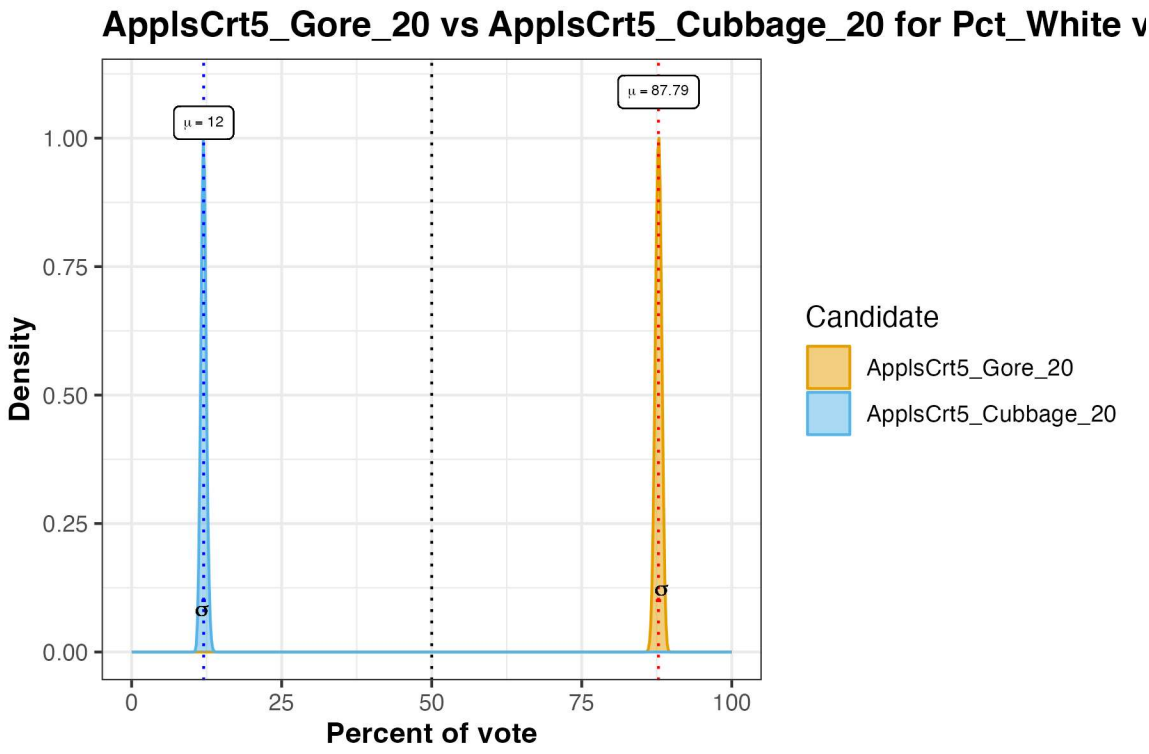

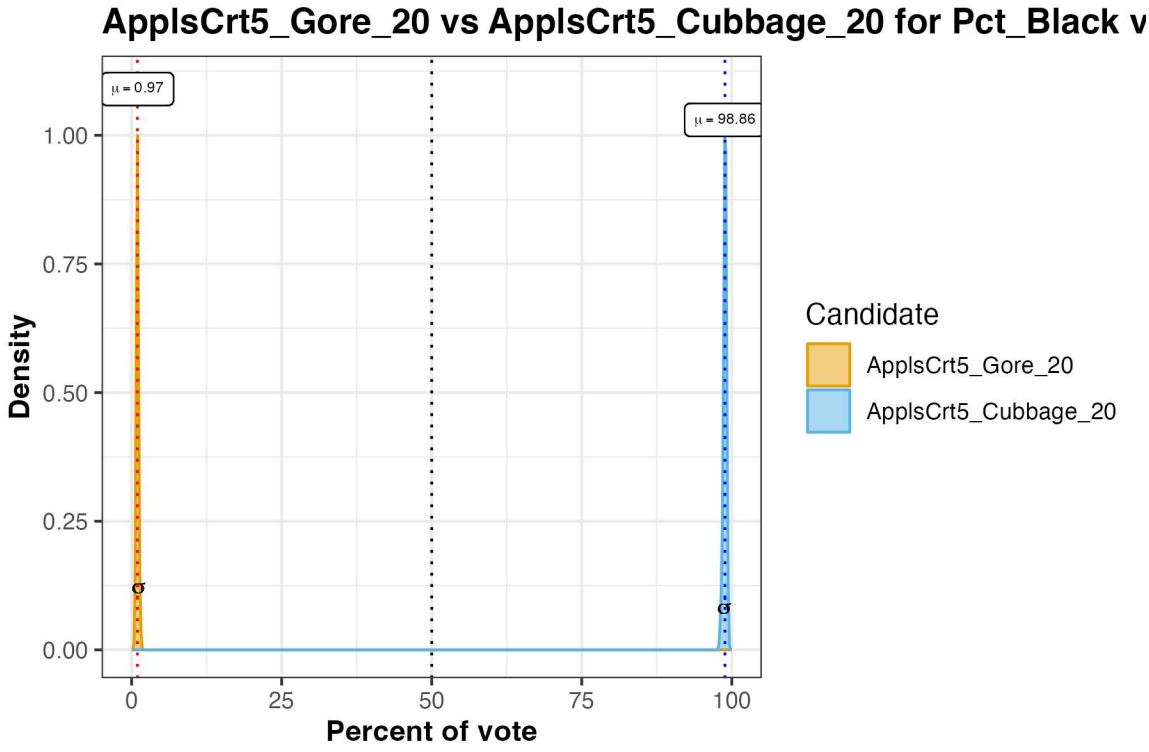

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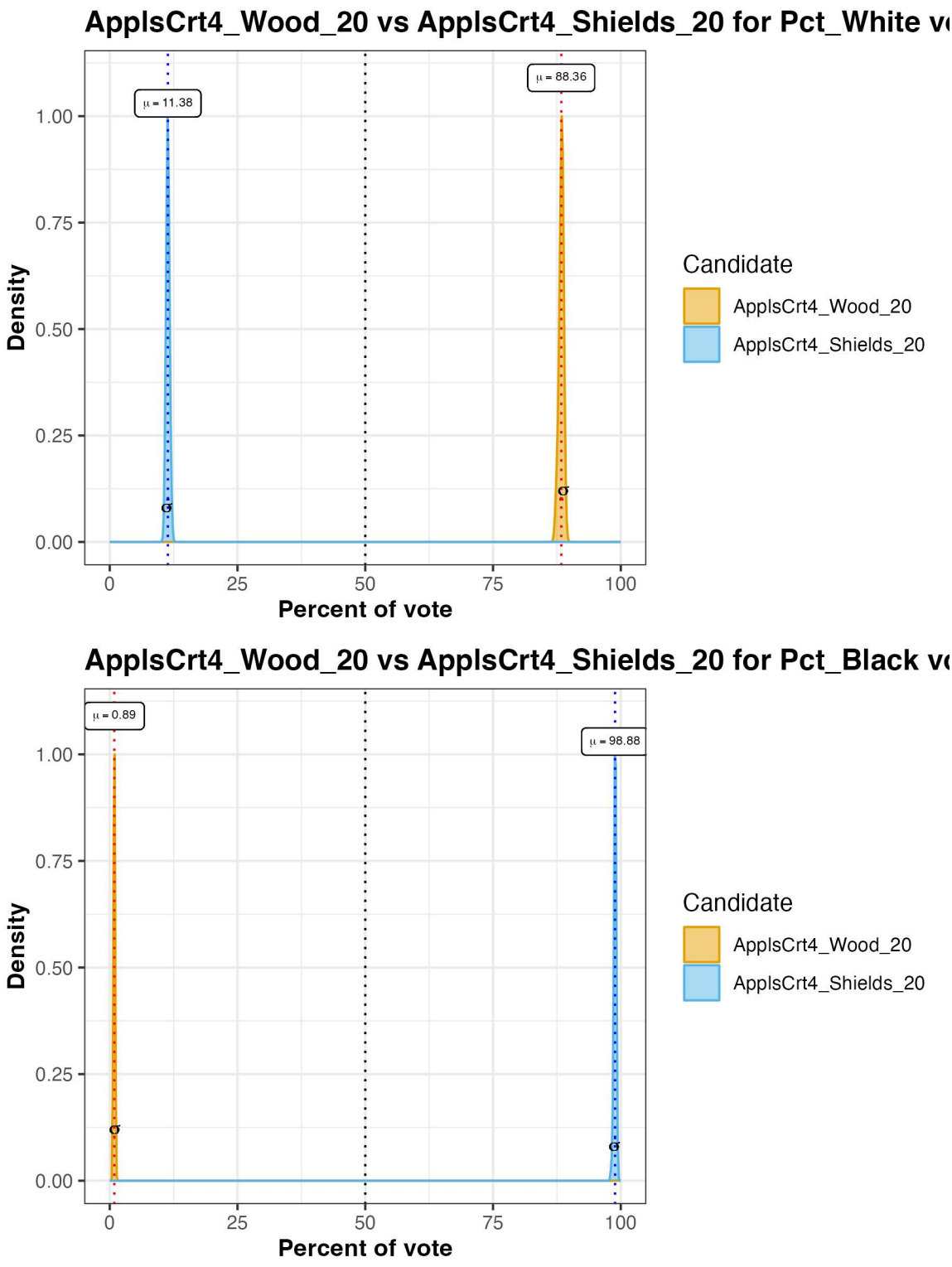

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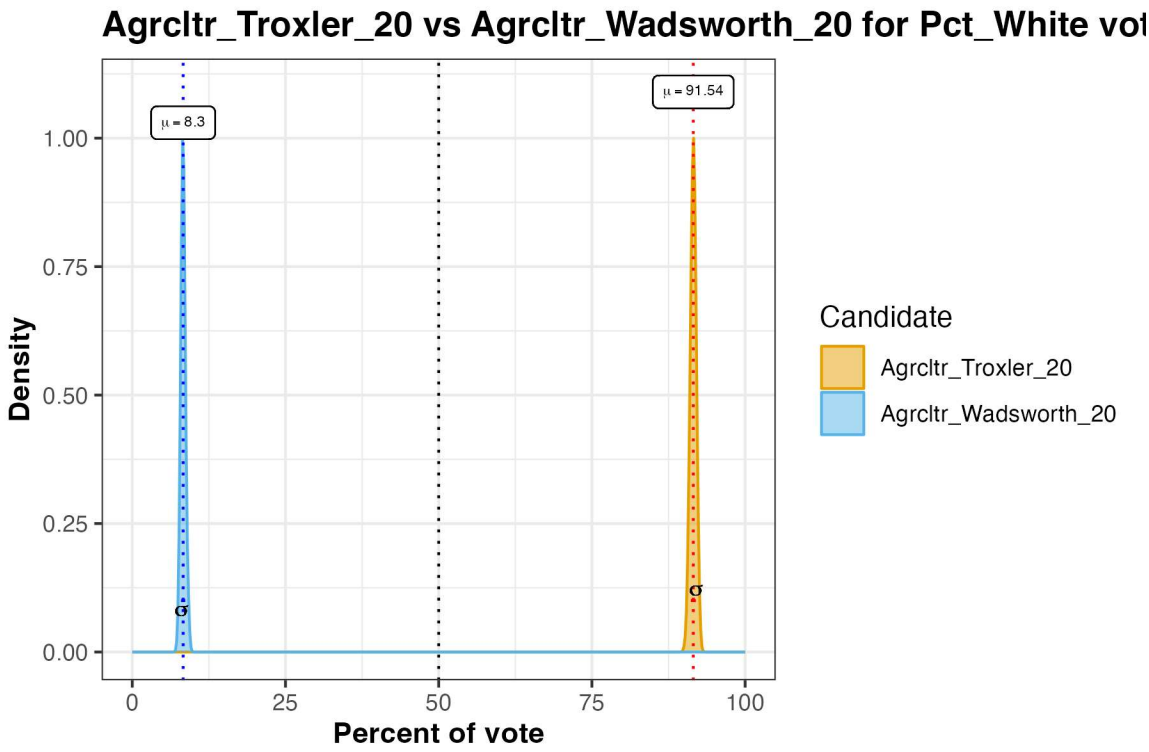
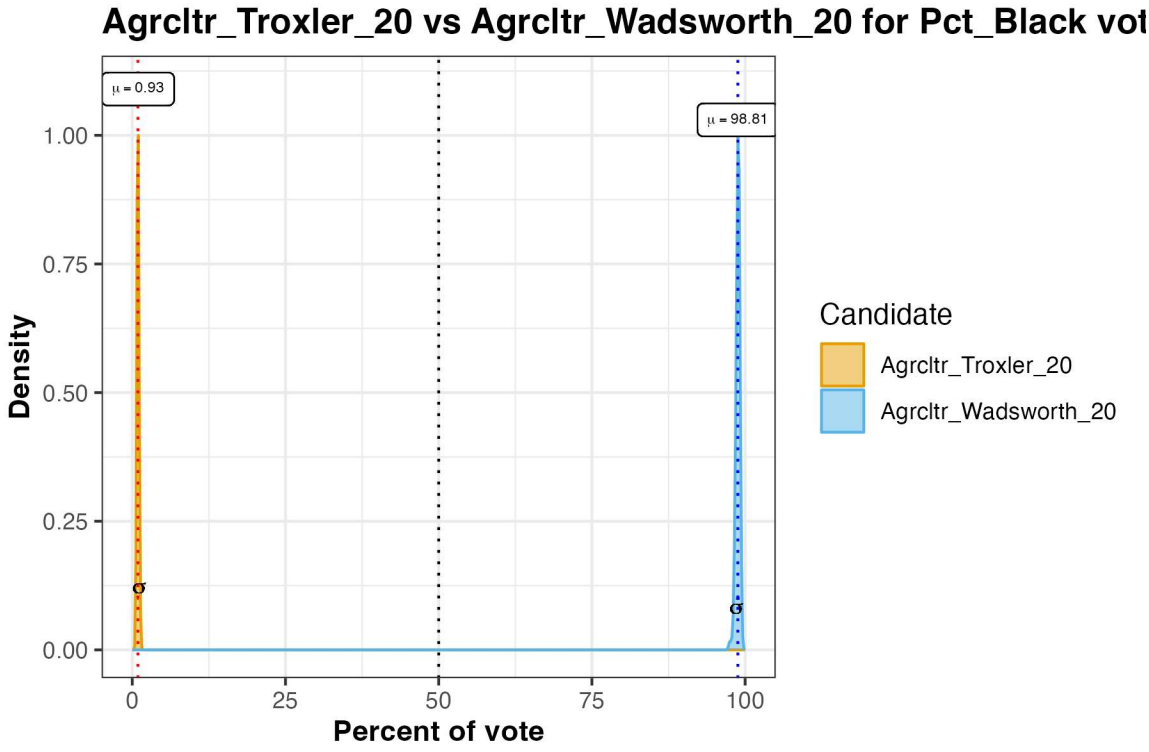
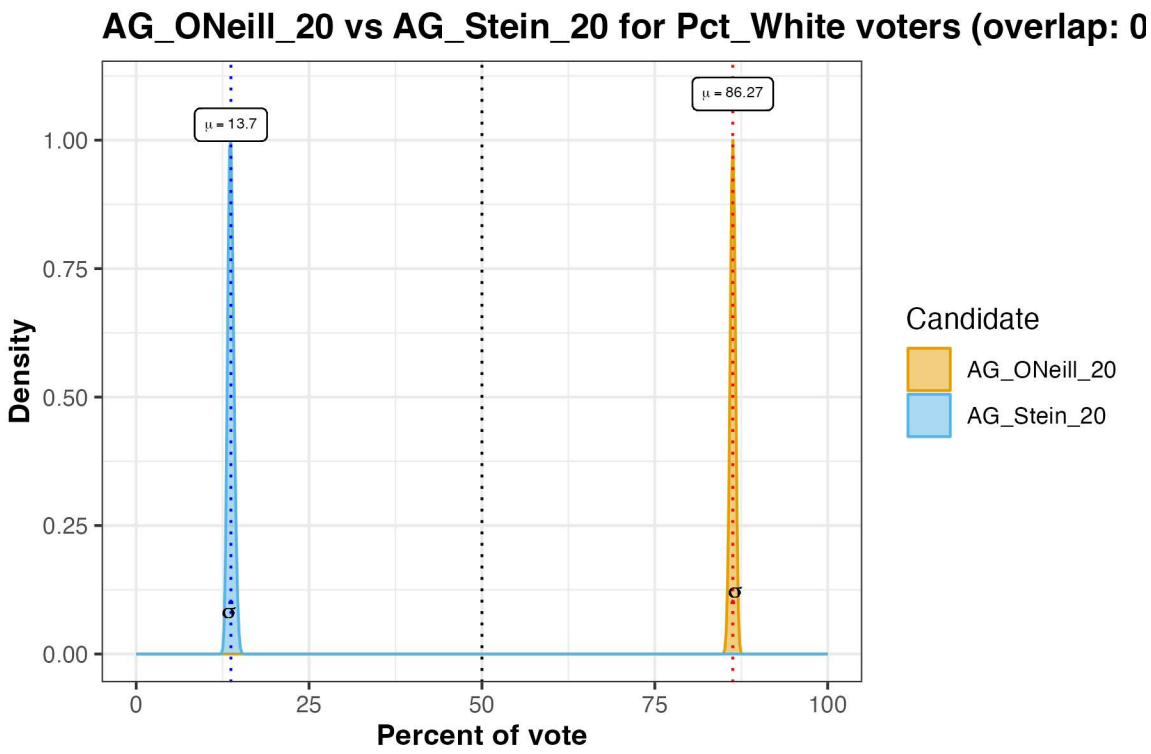
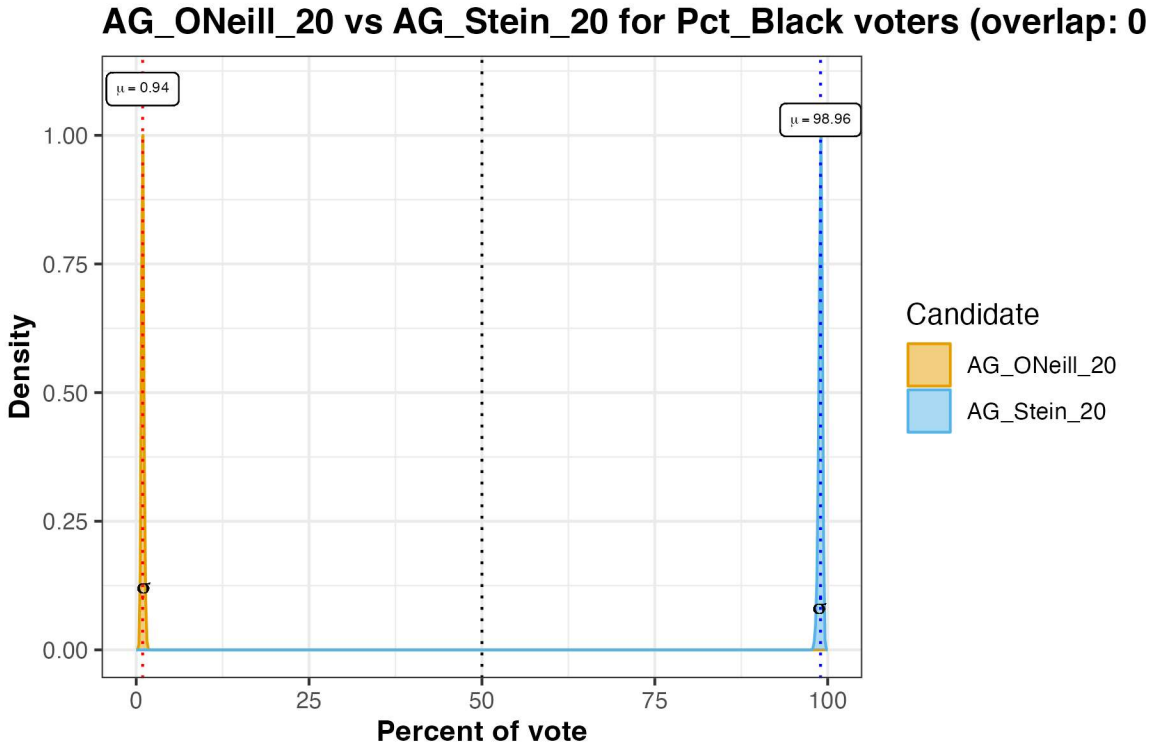


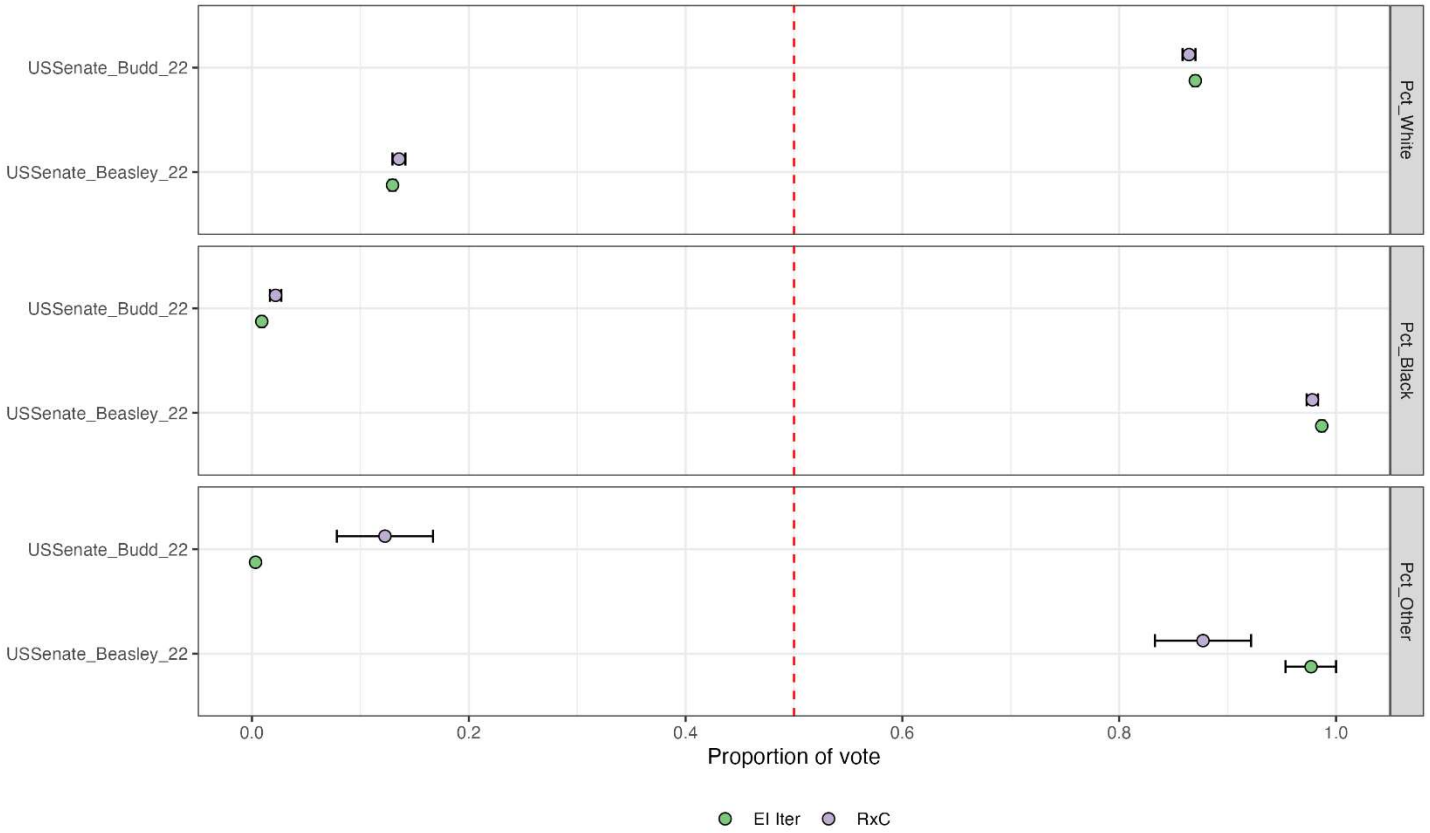


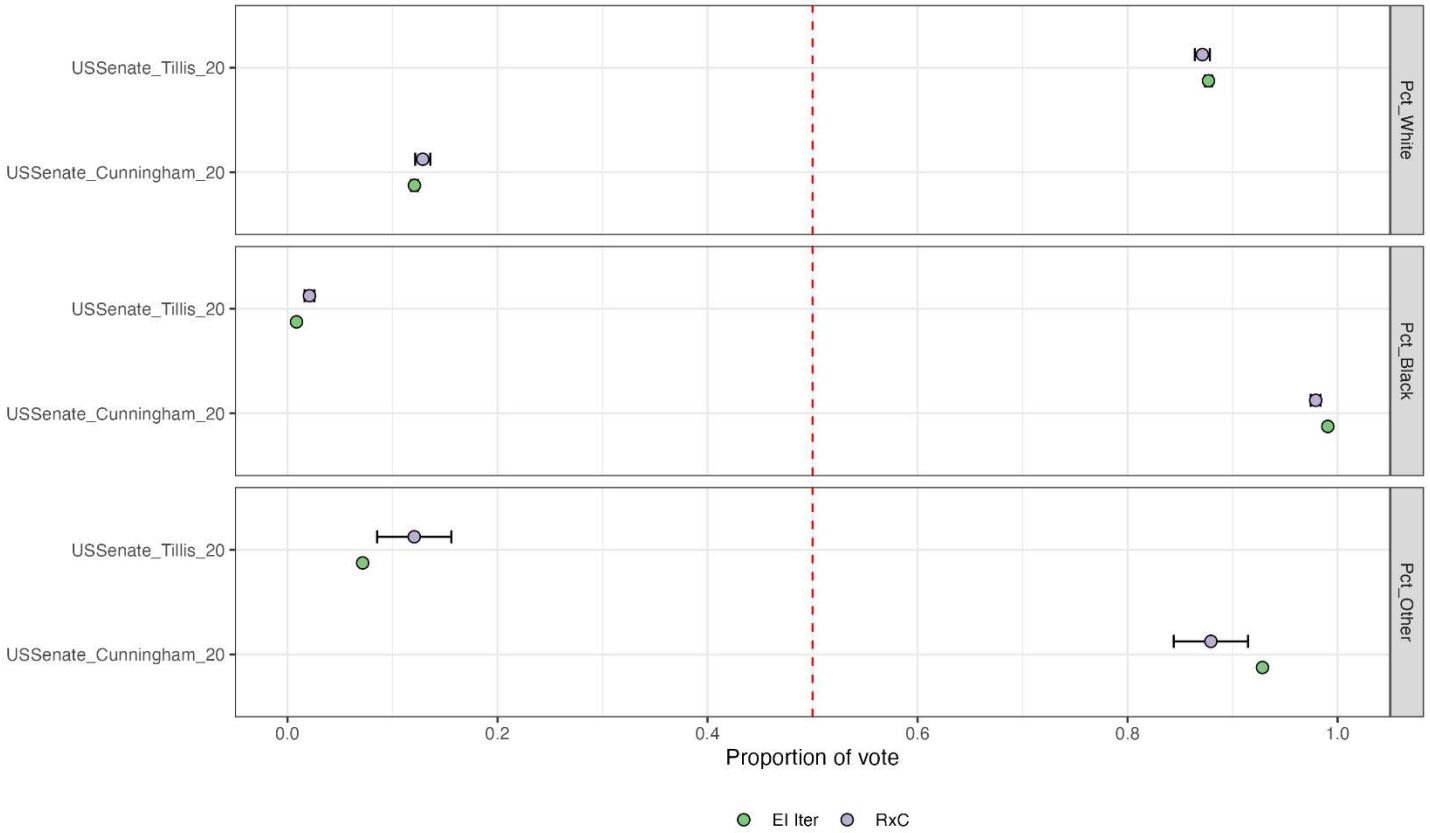

AG_ONeill_20 vs AG_Stein_20 for Pct_White voters (overlap: 0
μ = 13.7
μ = 86.27
σ
σ
1.00
0.75
0.50
0.25
0.00
Density
0
25
50
75
100
Percent of vote
Candidate
AG_ONeill_20
AG_Stein_20


AG_ONeill_20 vs AG_Stein_20 for Pct_Black voters (overlap: 0
μ = 0.94
μ = 98.96
σ
σ
1.00
0.75
0.50
0.25
0.00
Density
0
25
50
75
100
Percent of vote
Candidate
AG_ONeill_20
AG_Stein_20

eiCompare TIE Fighter Plots

Northeast region RPV analysis: Black and white point estimates and confidence intervals





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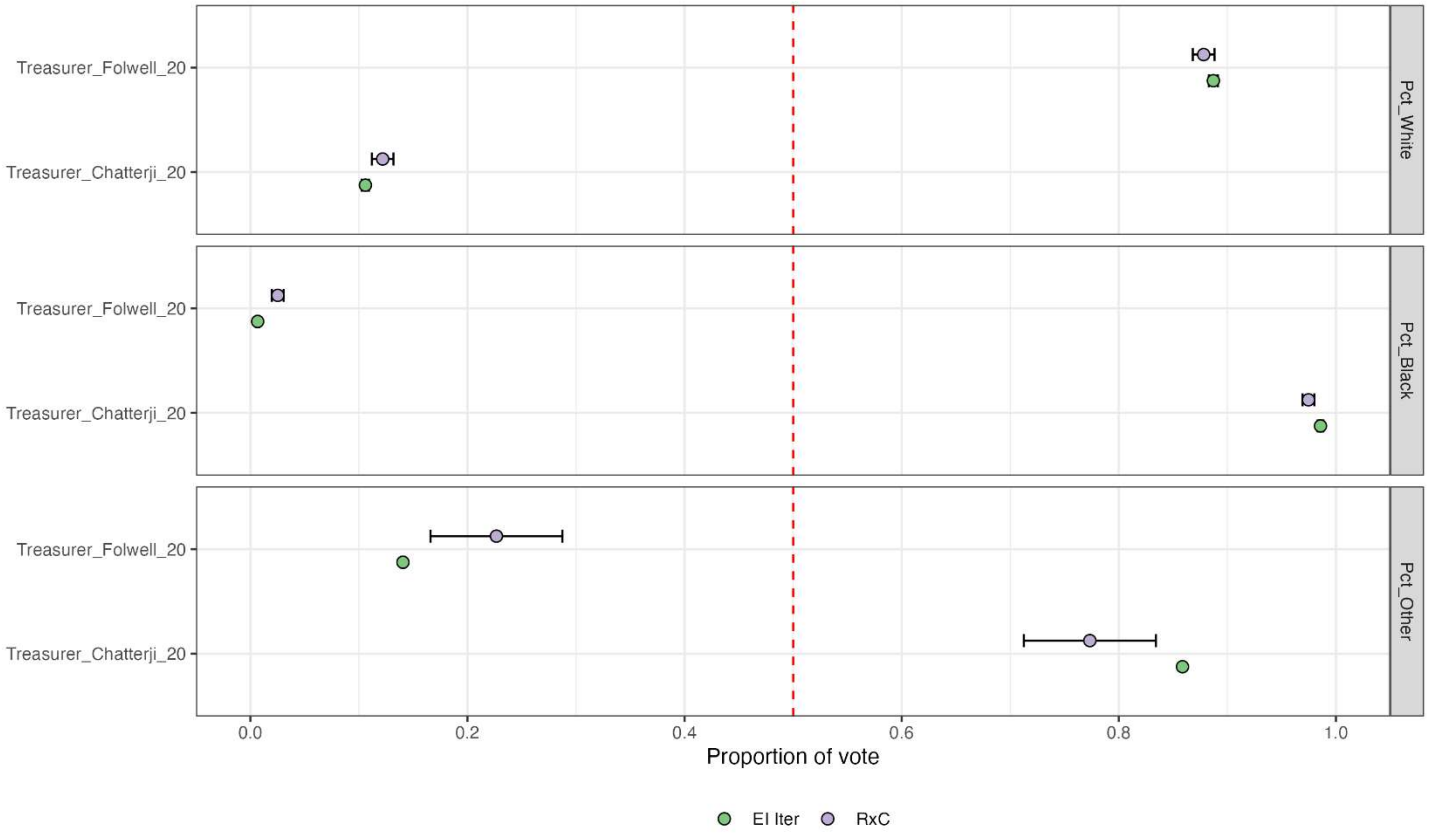

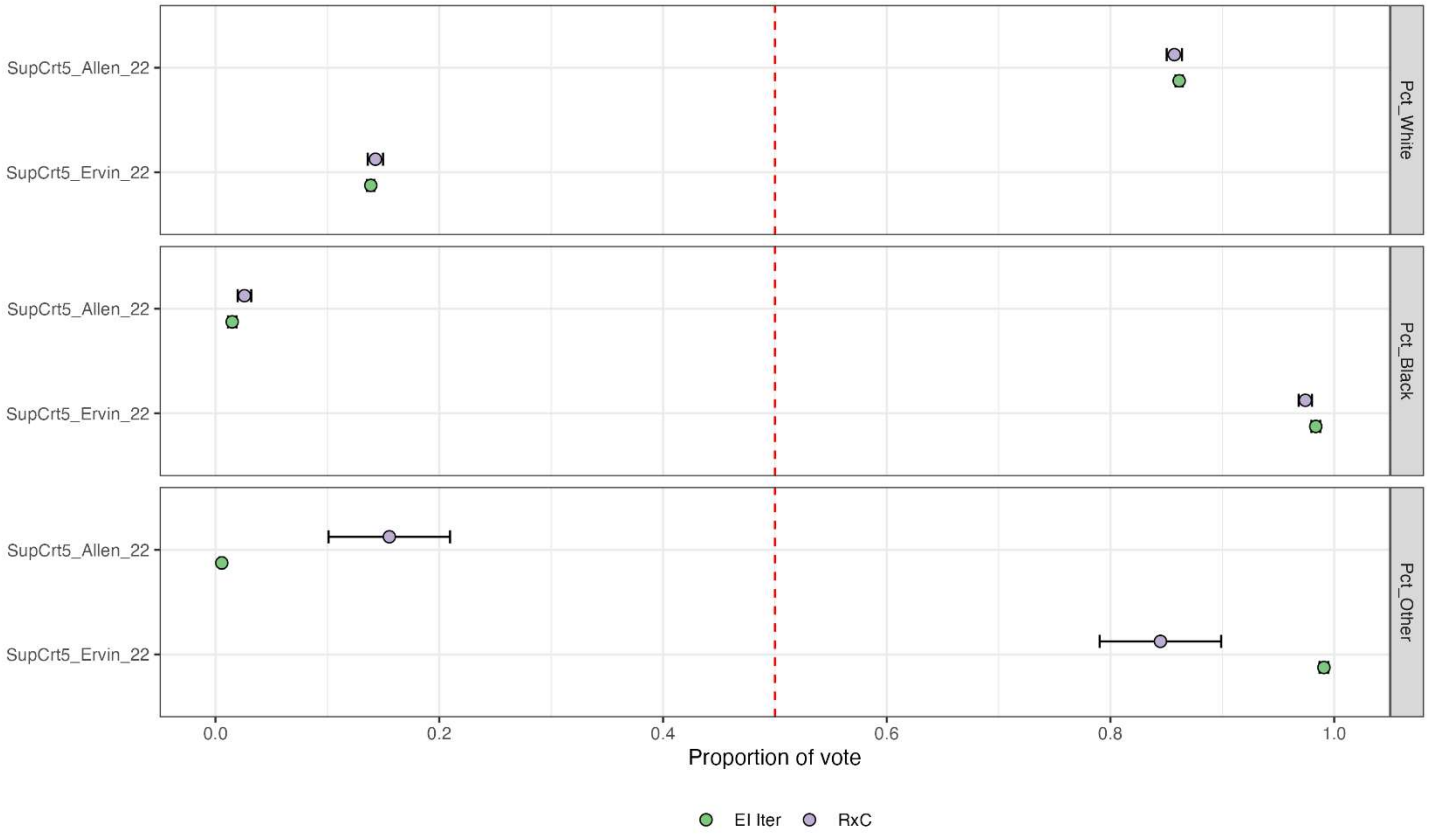

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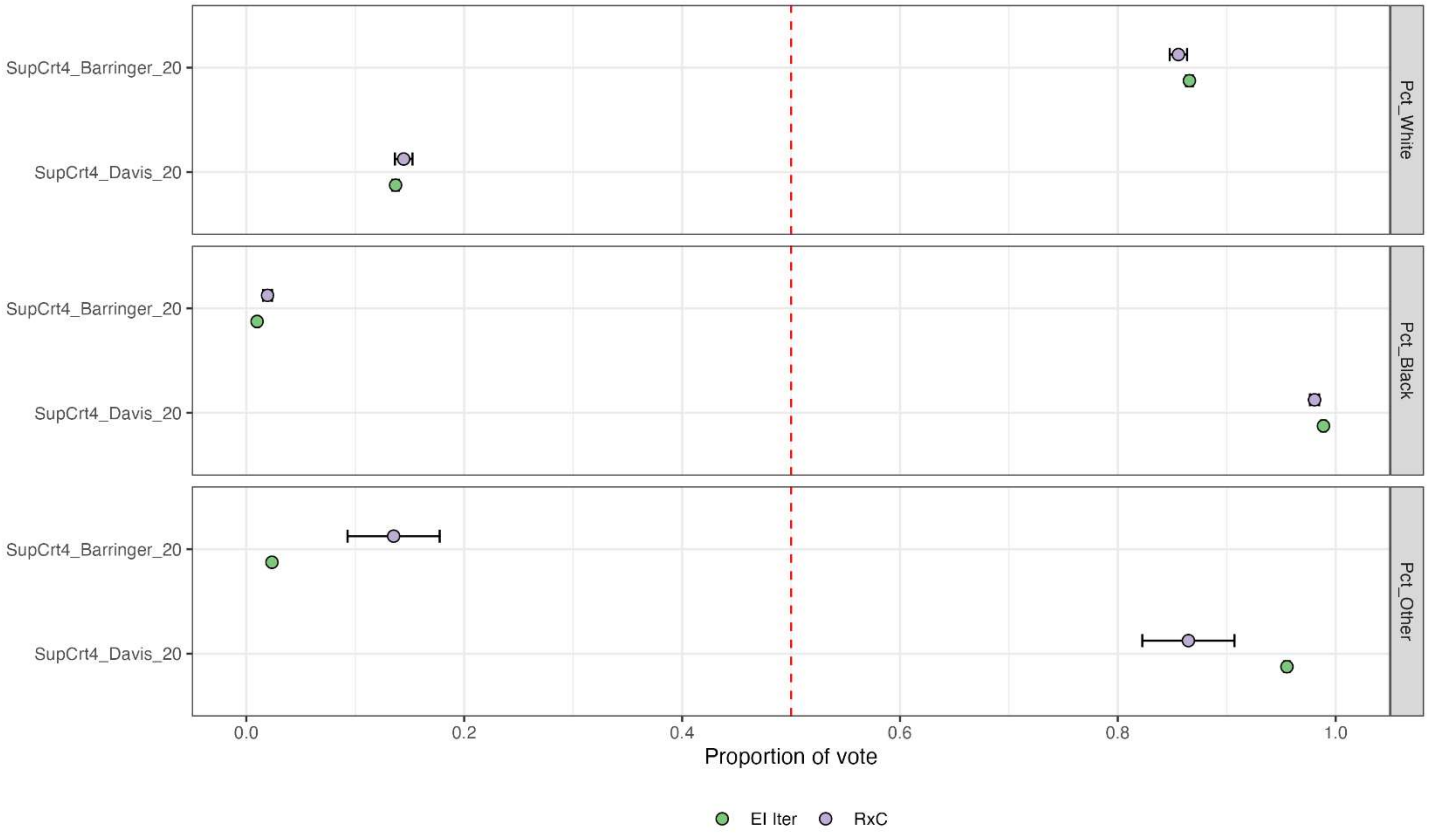

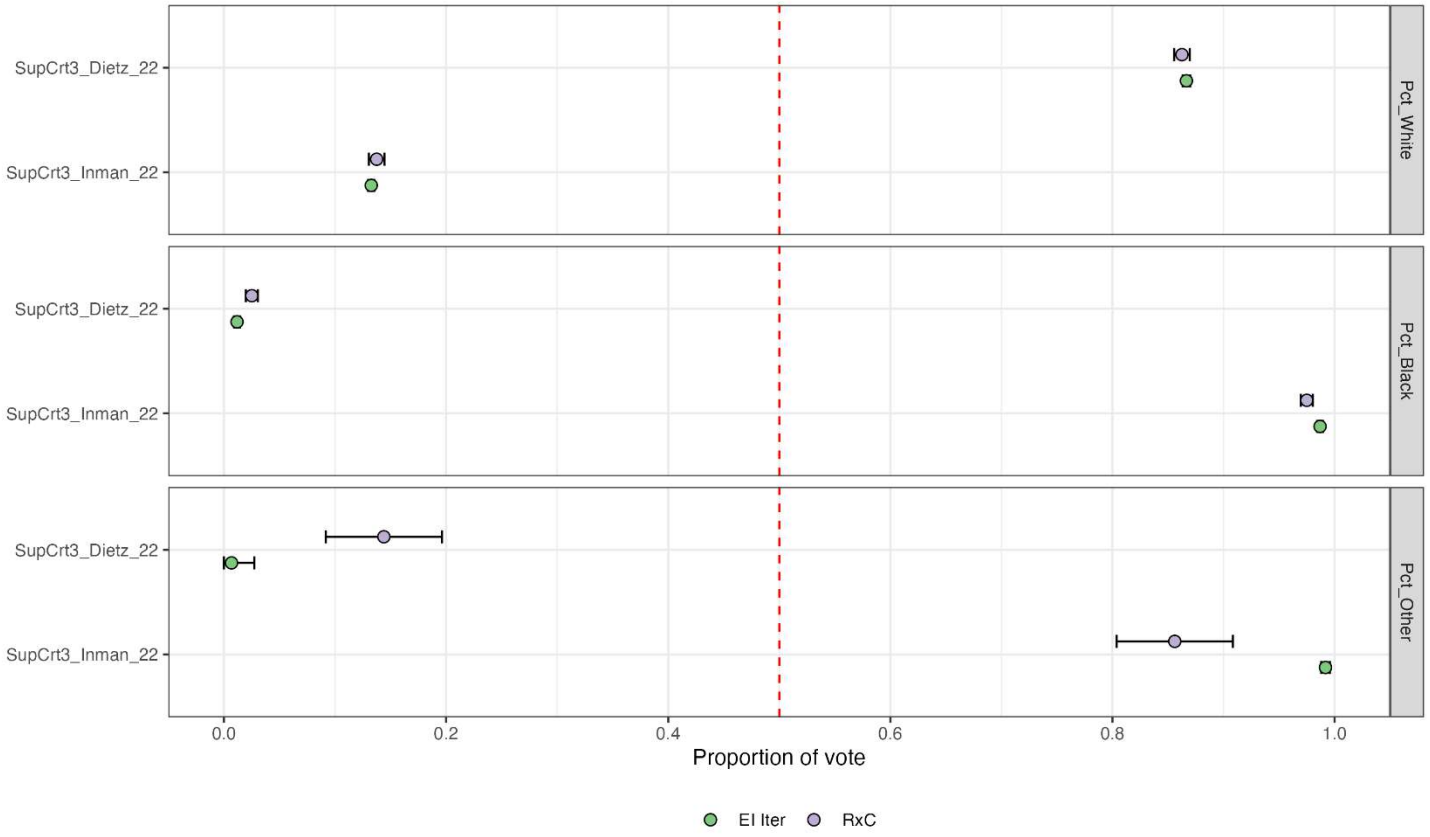

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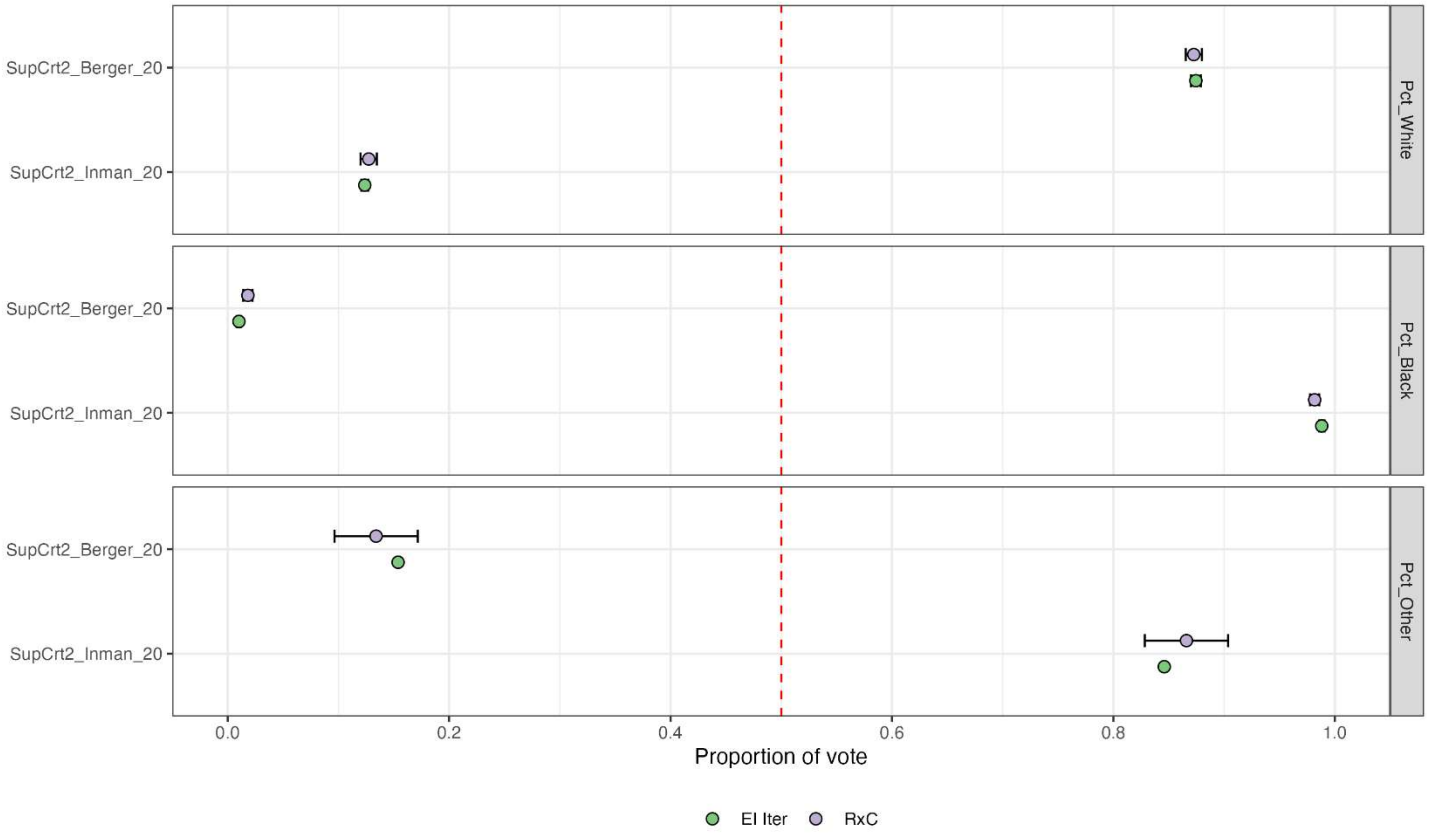

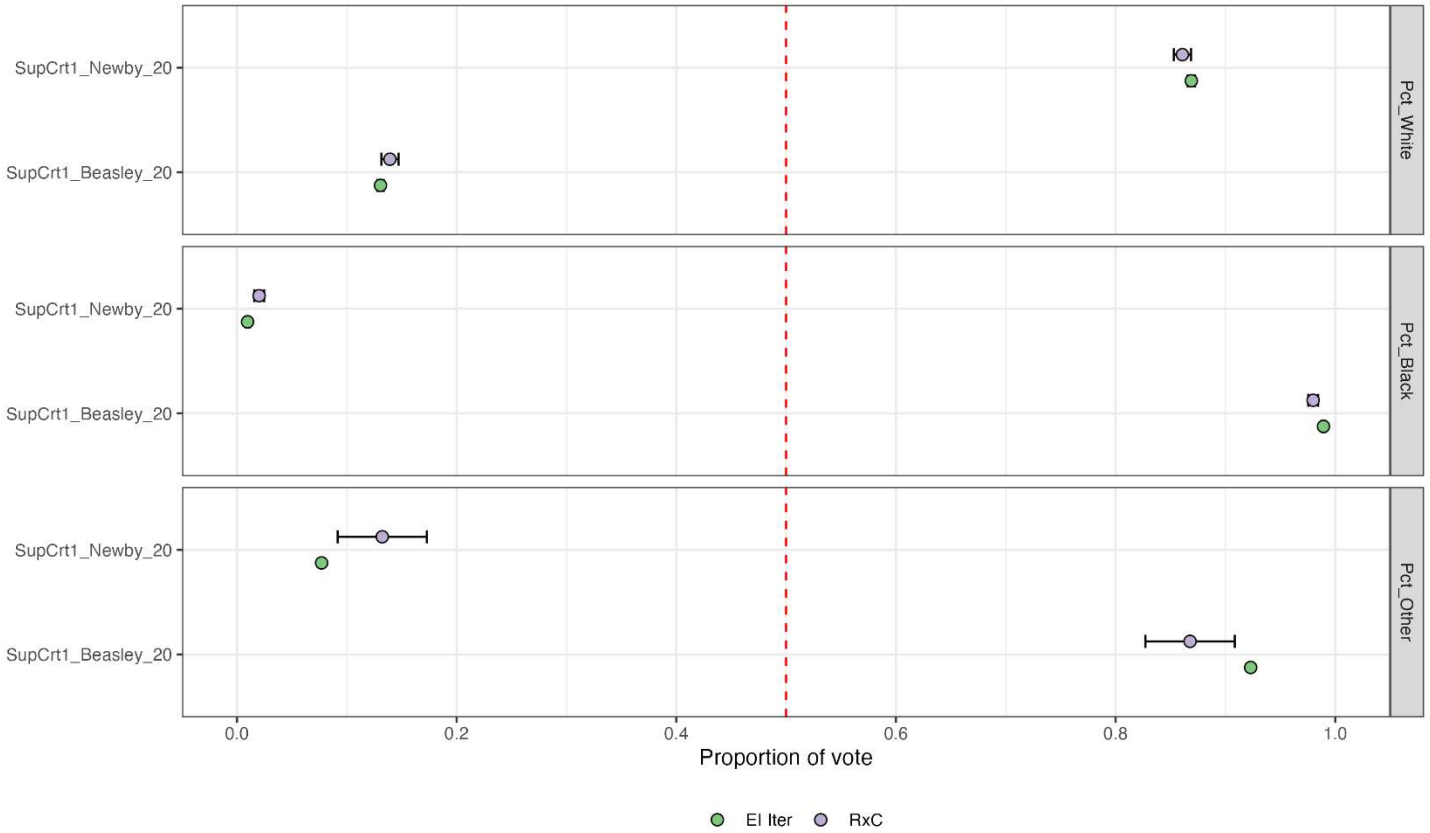

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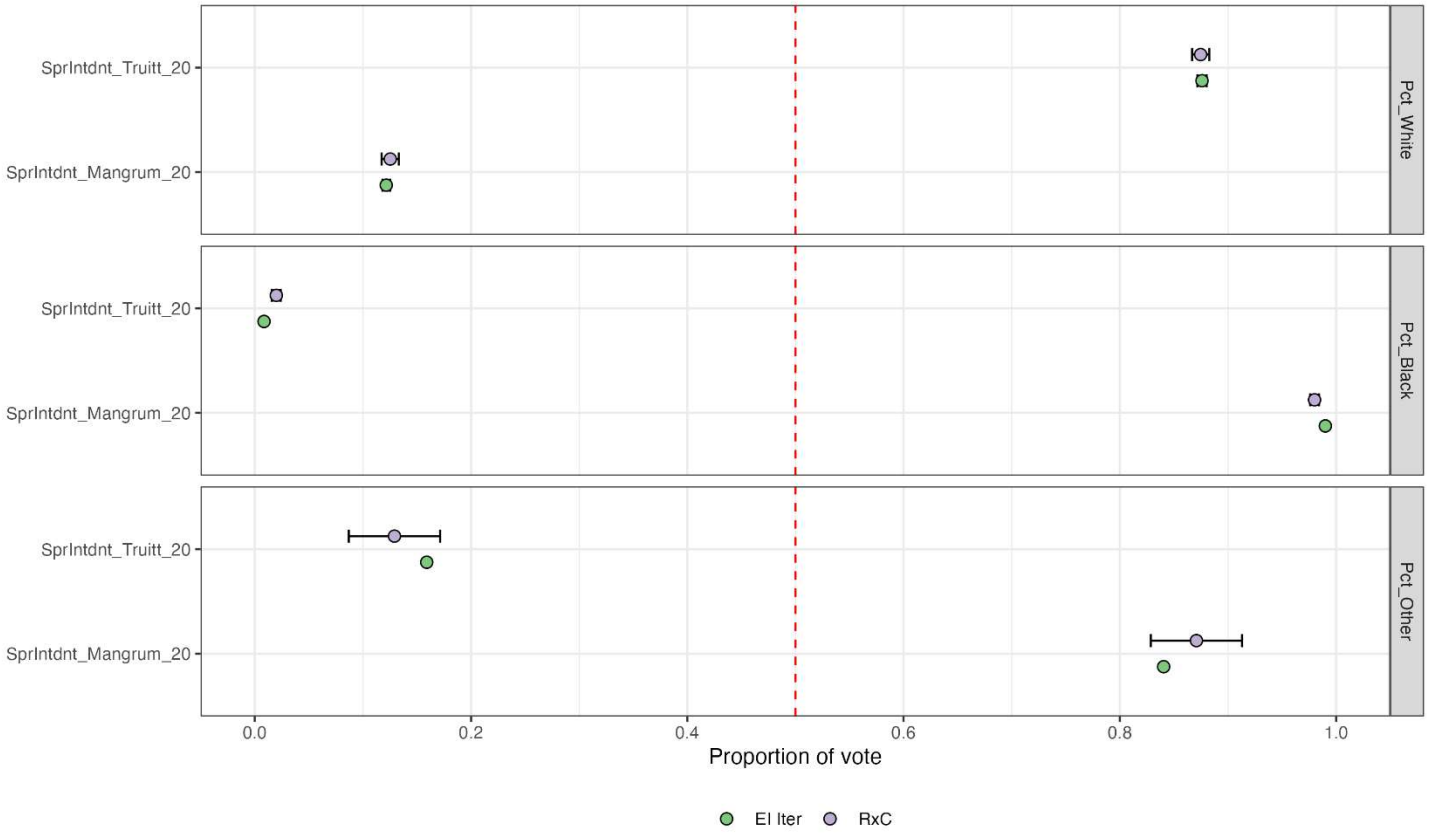

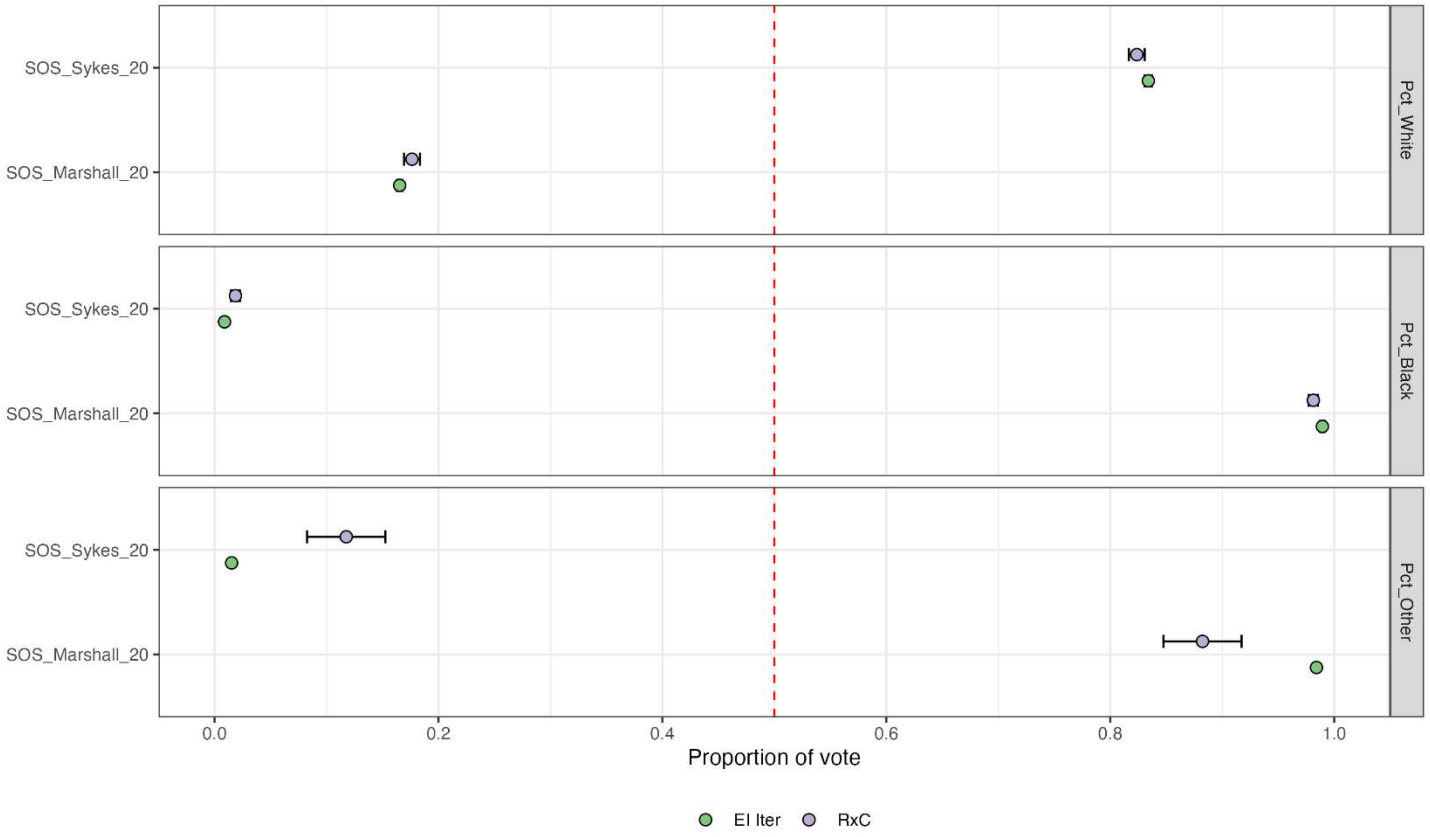

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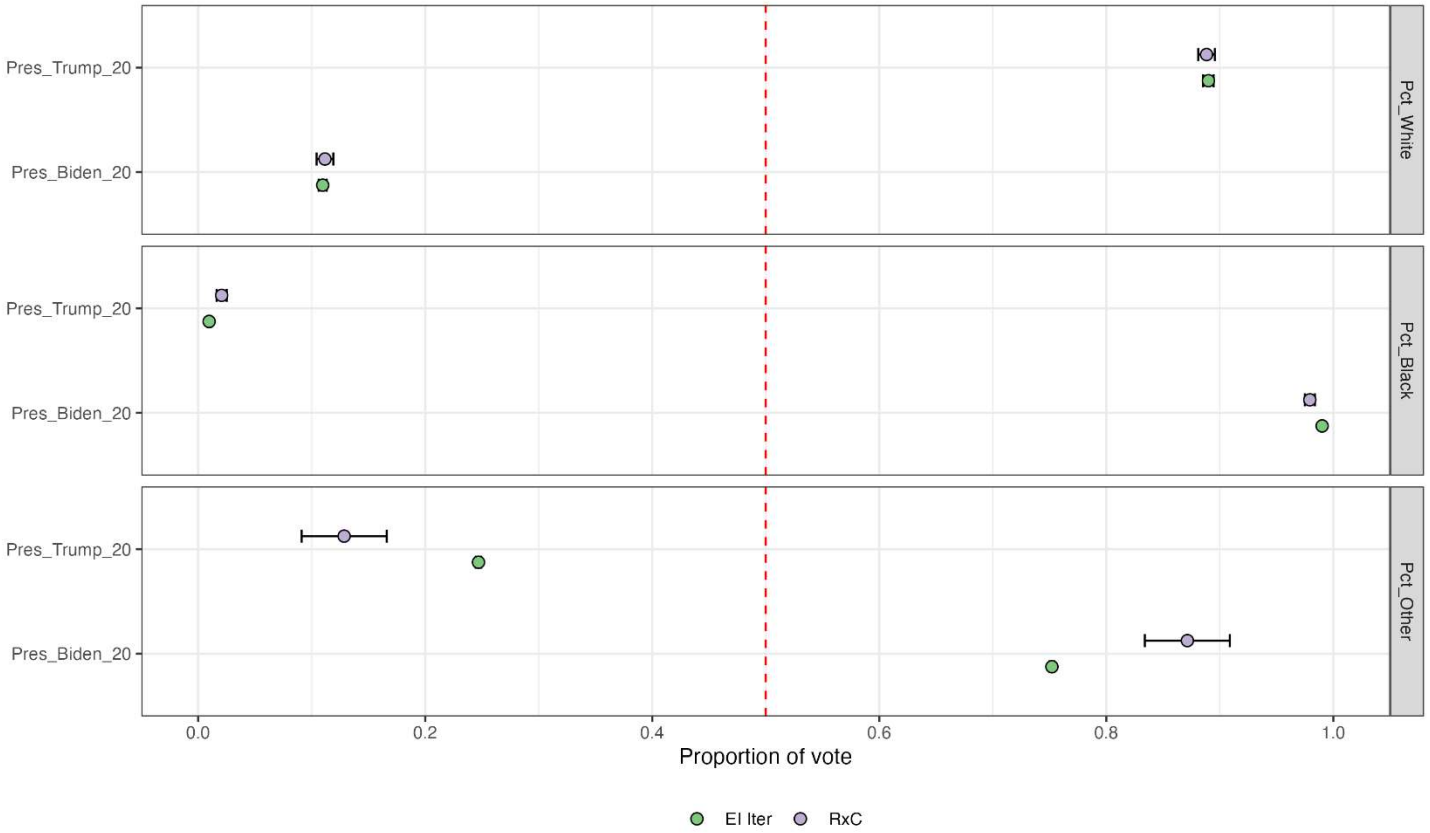

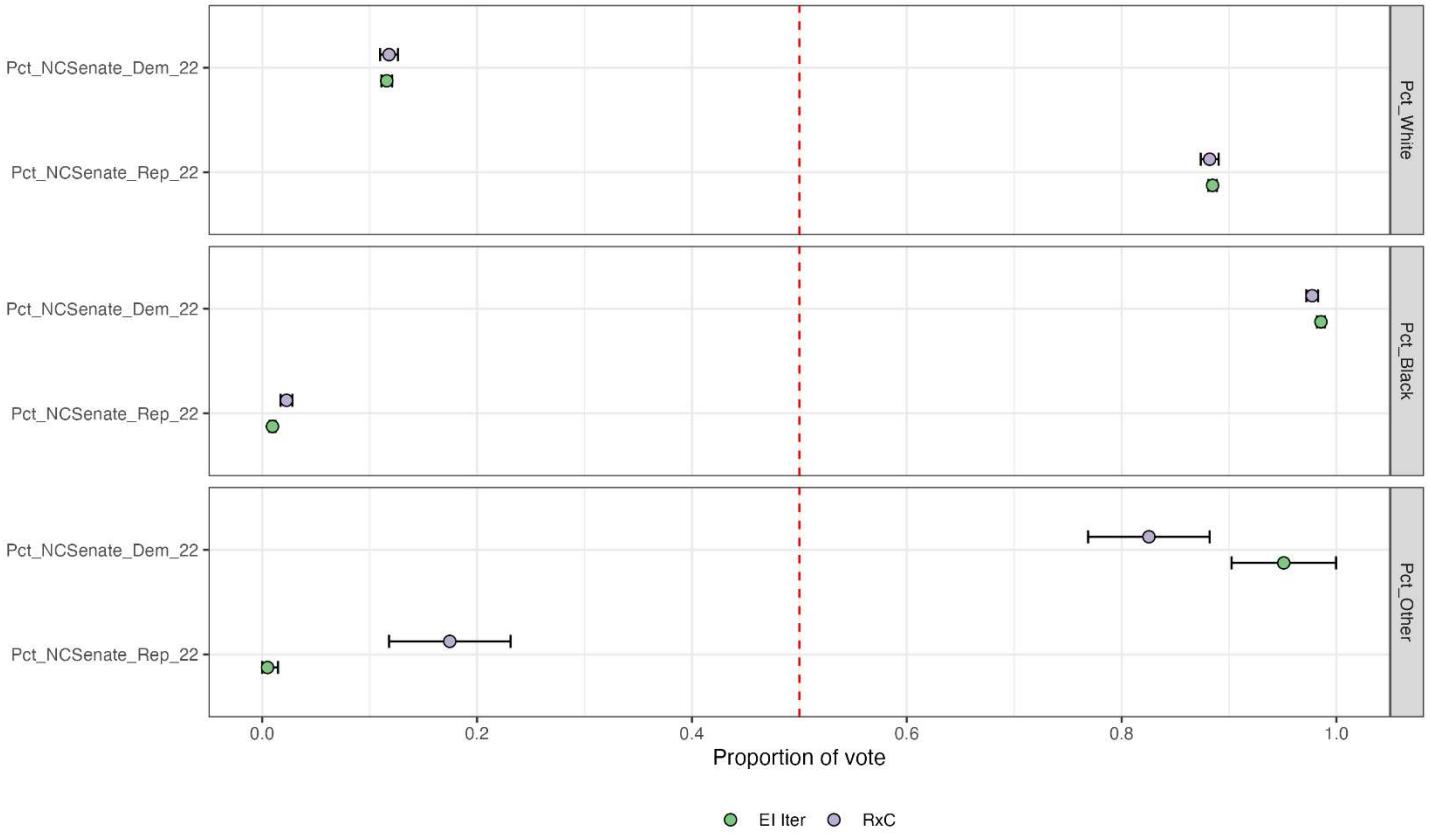

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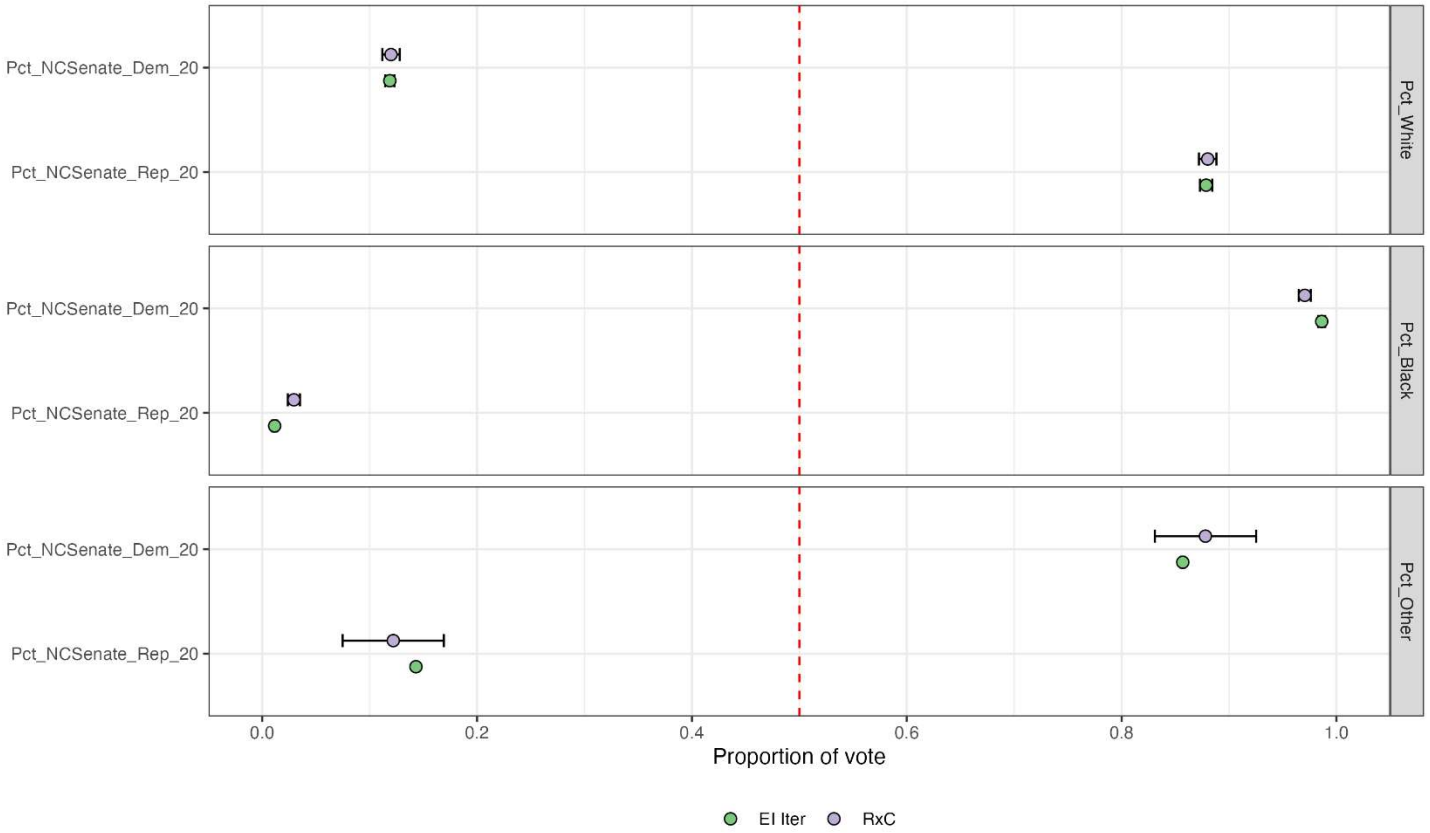

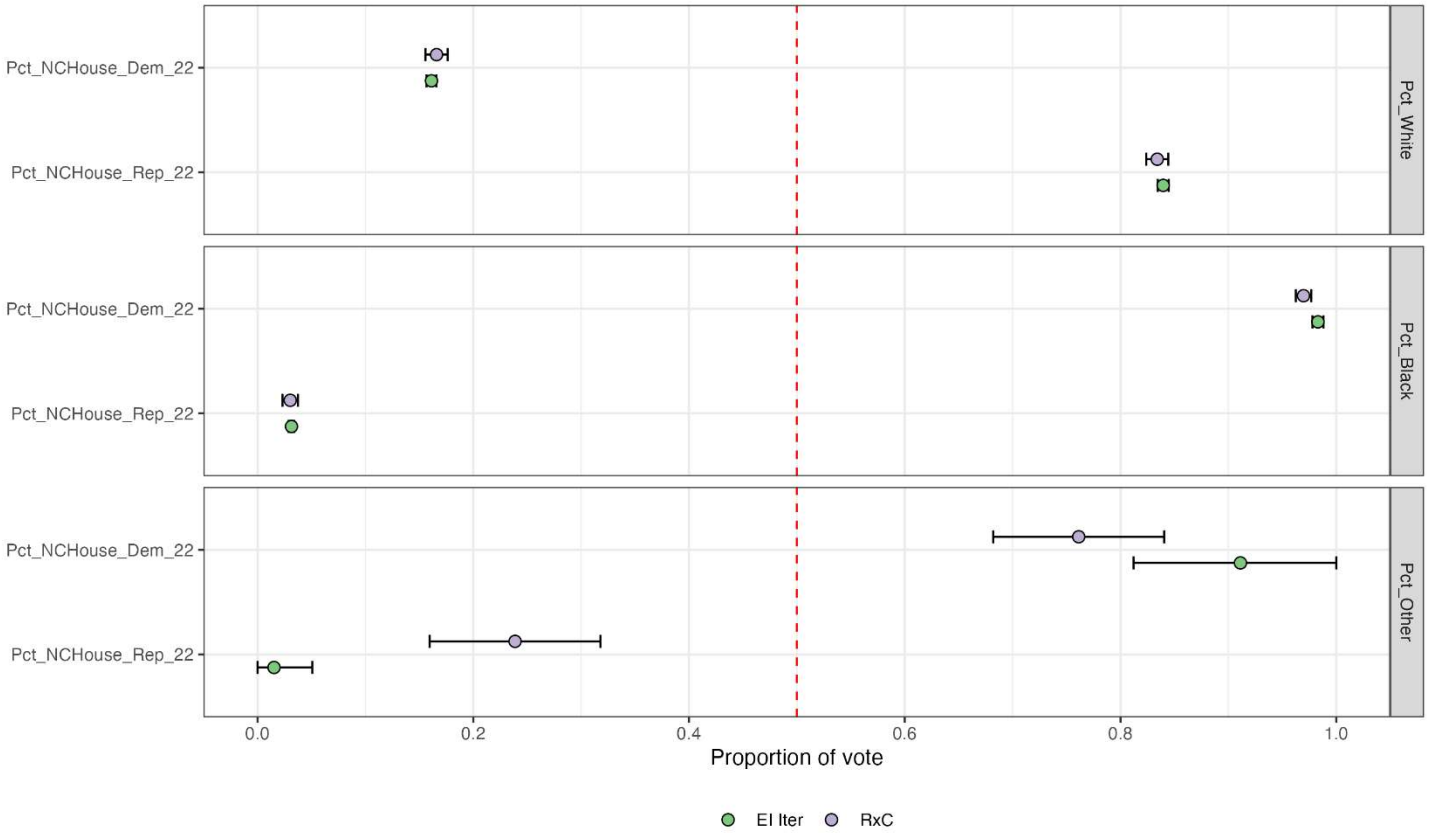

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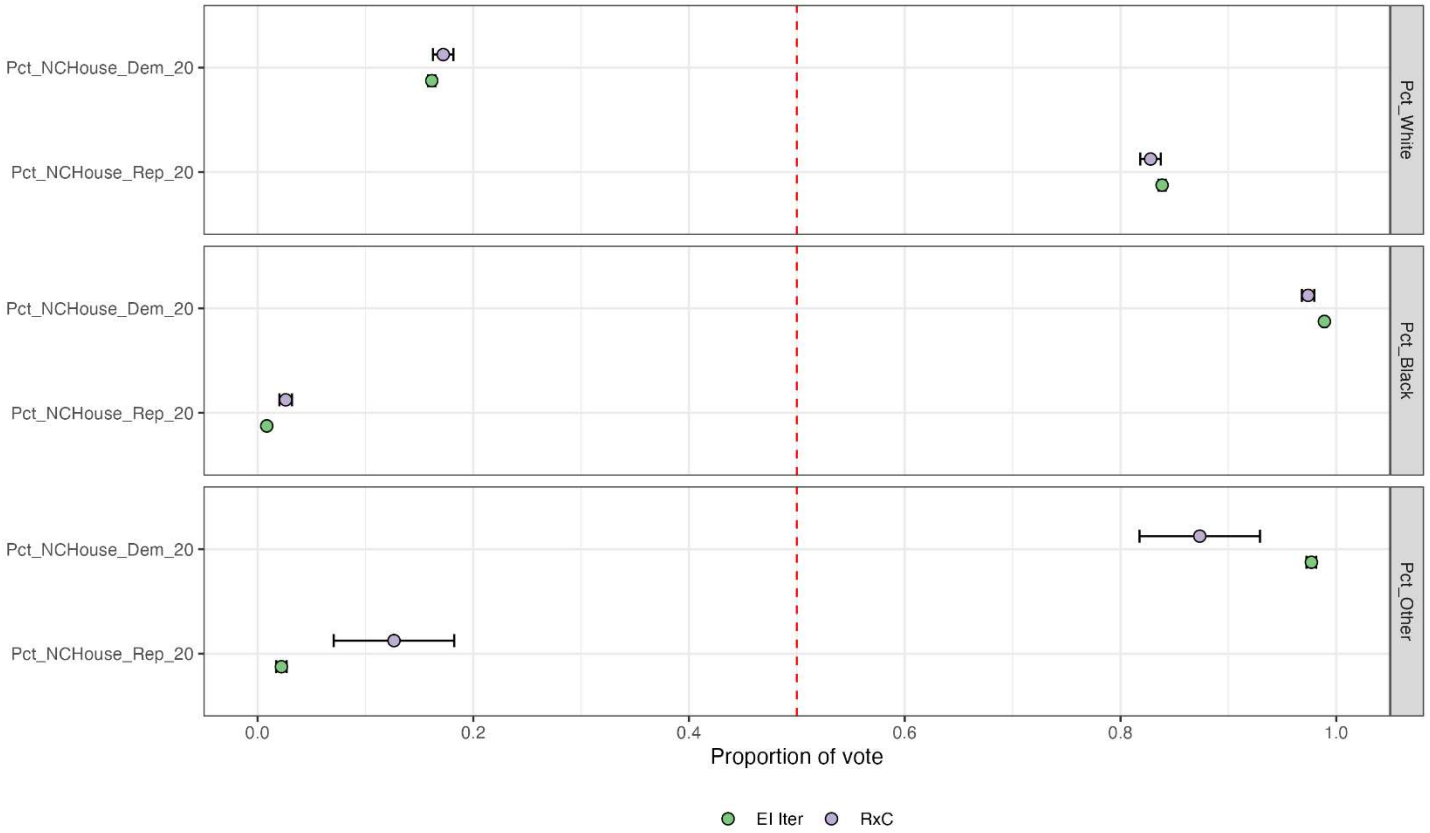

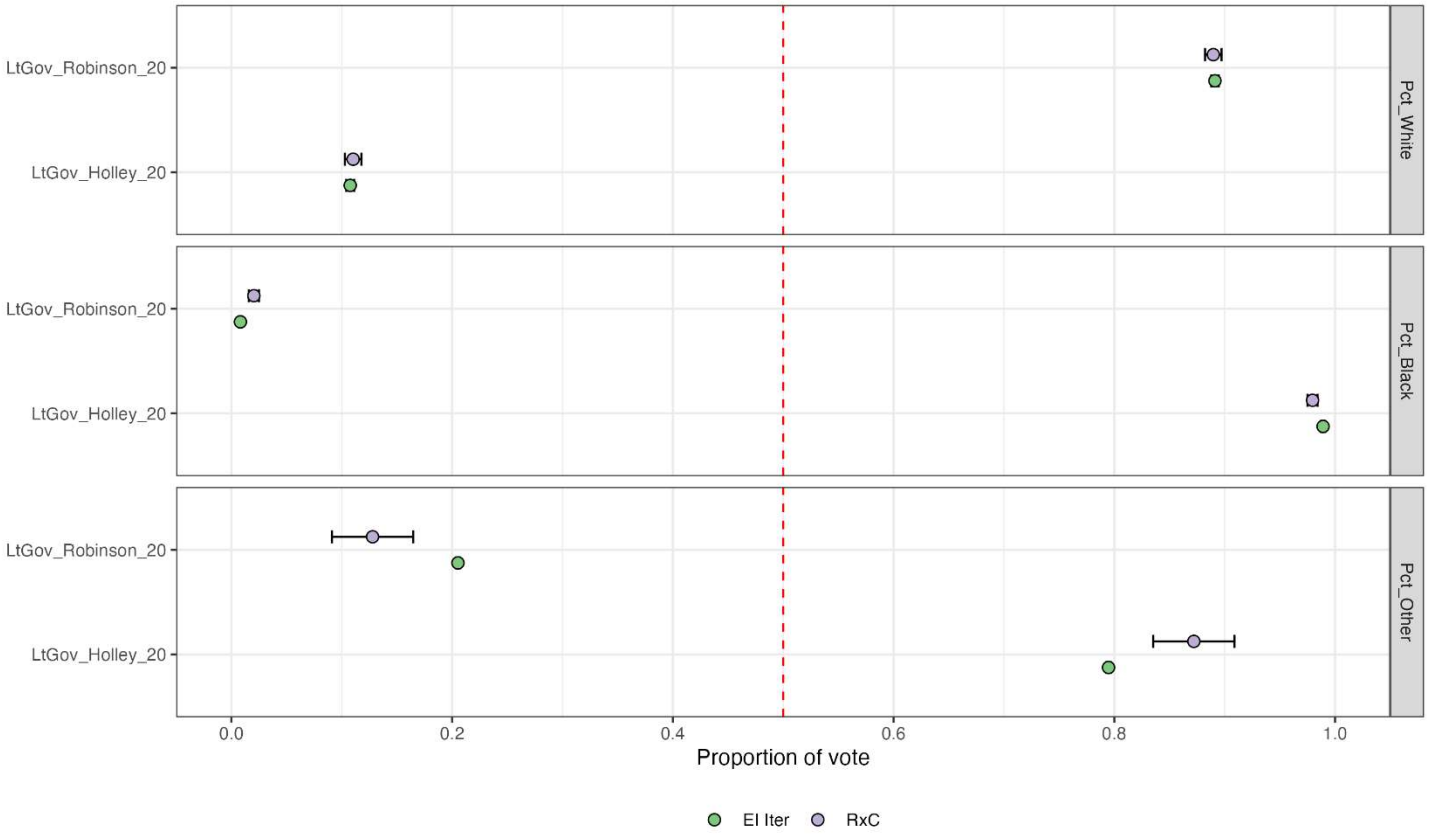

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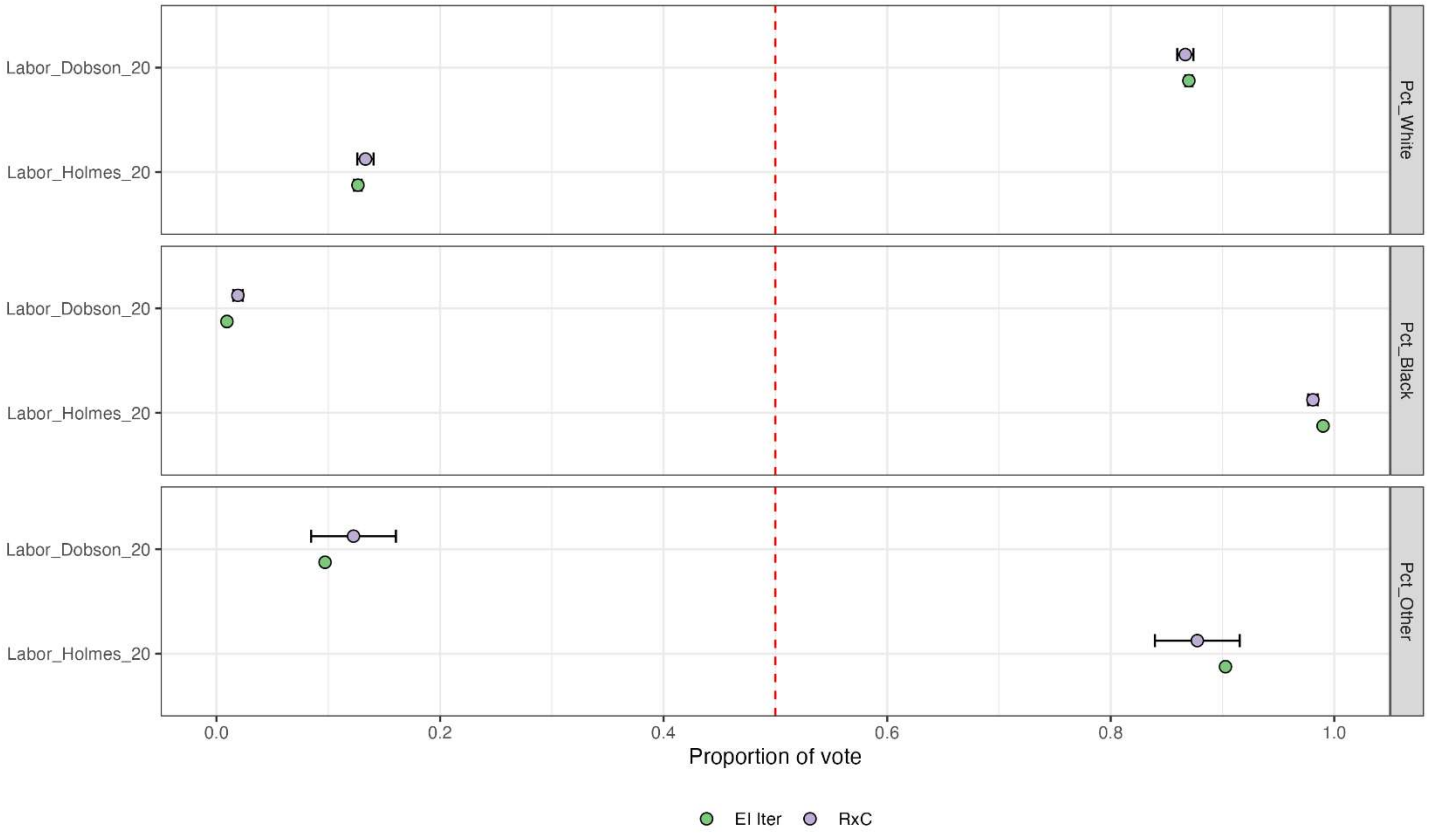

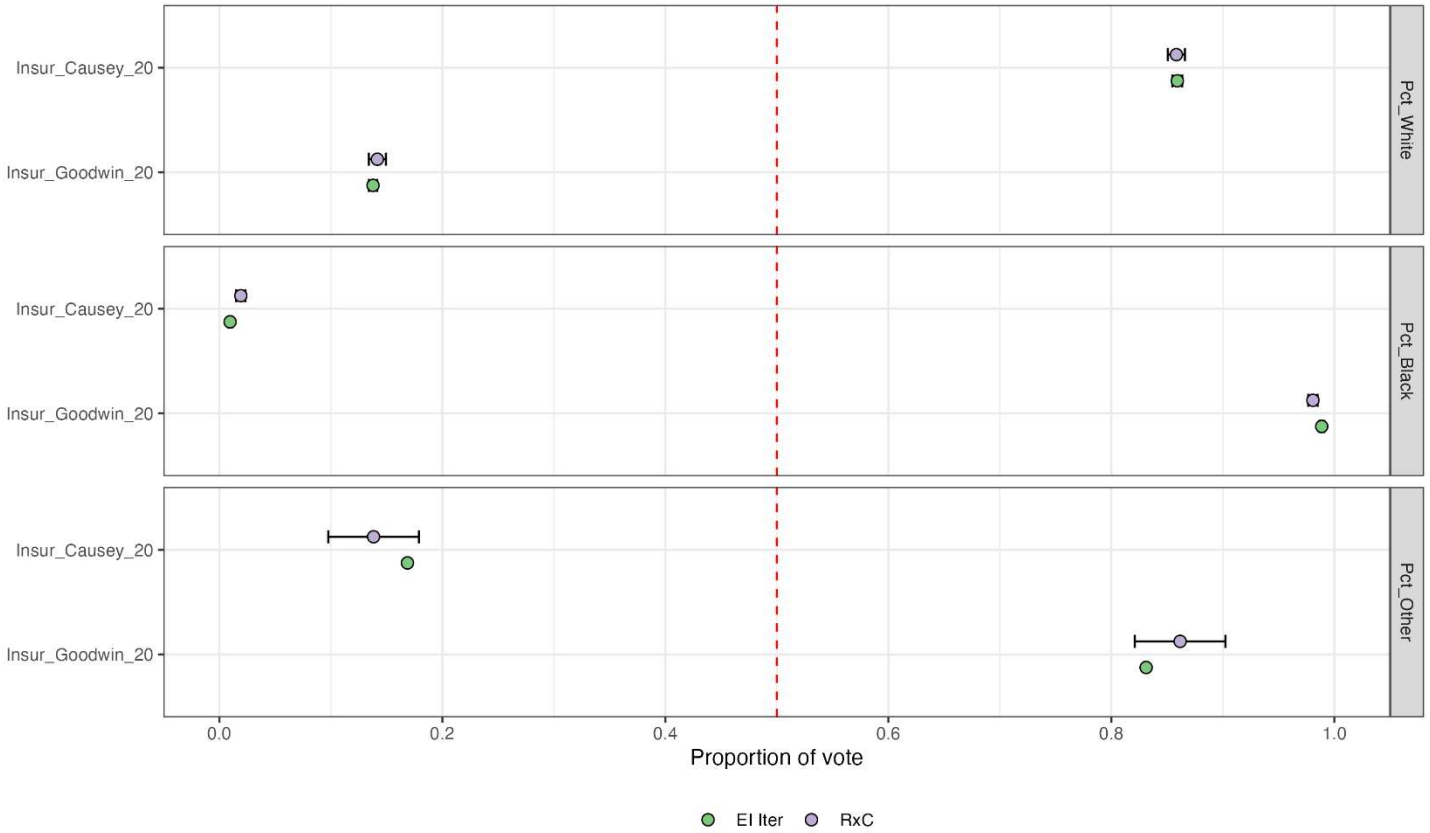

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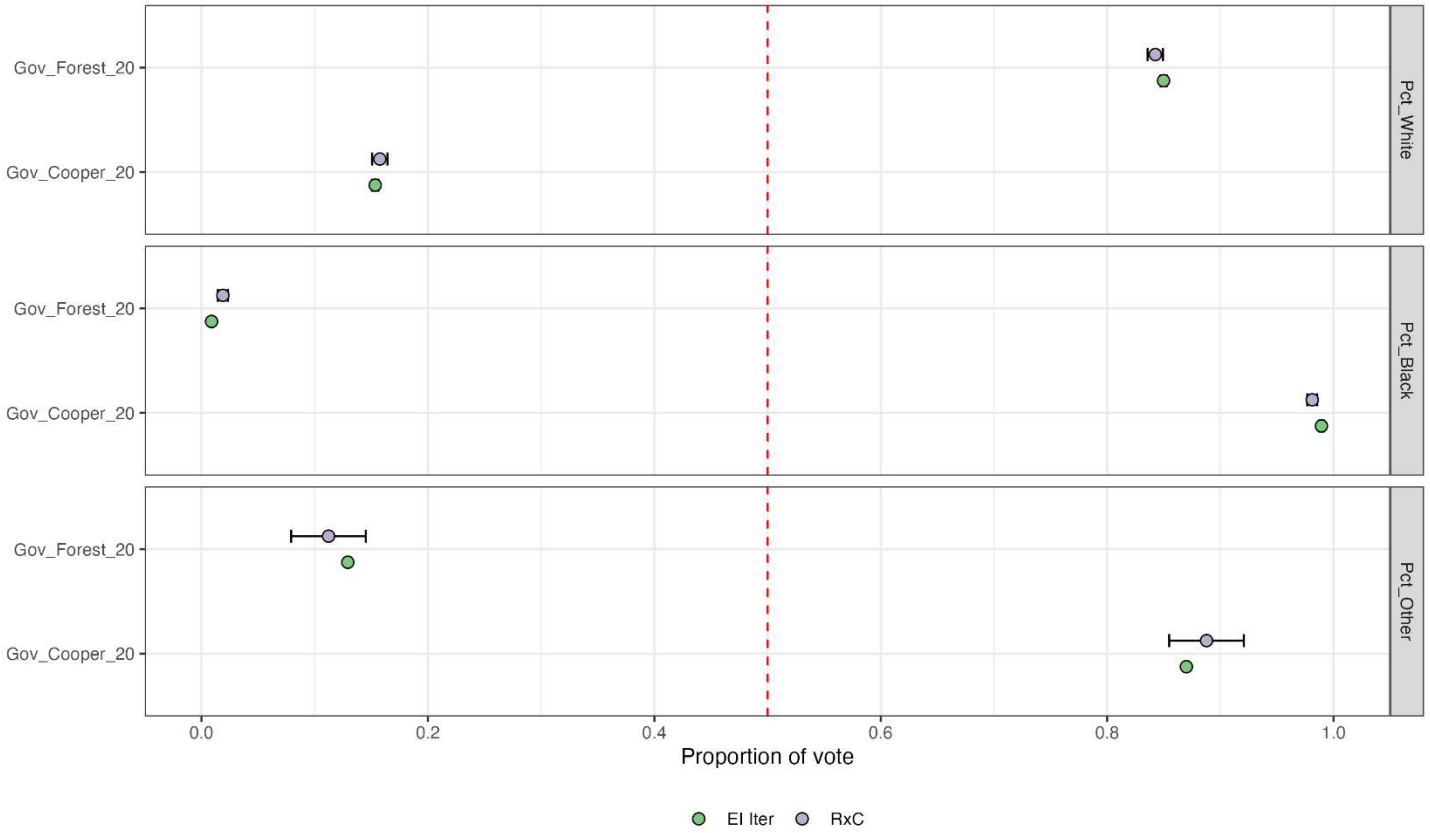

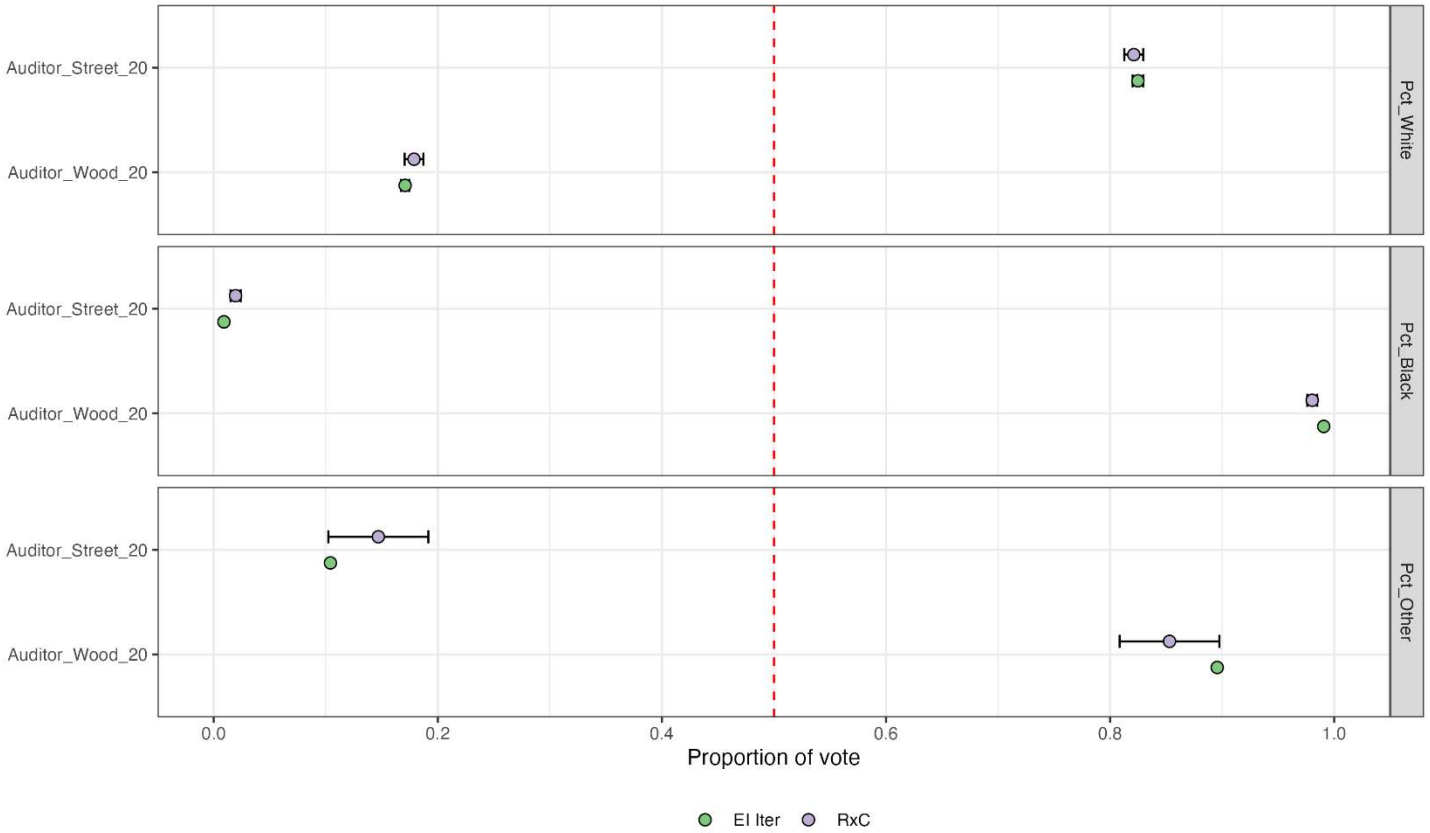

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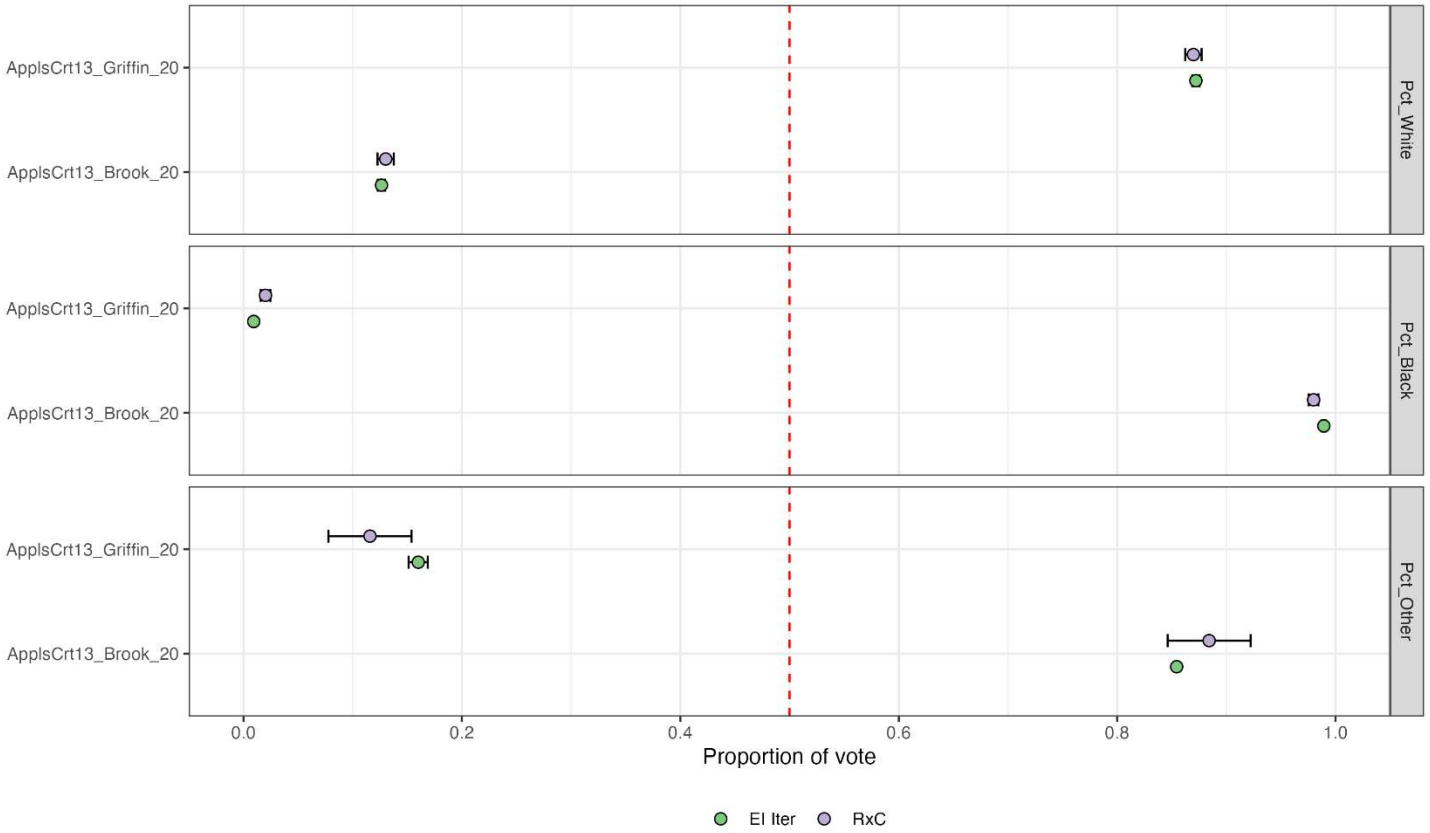

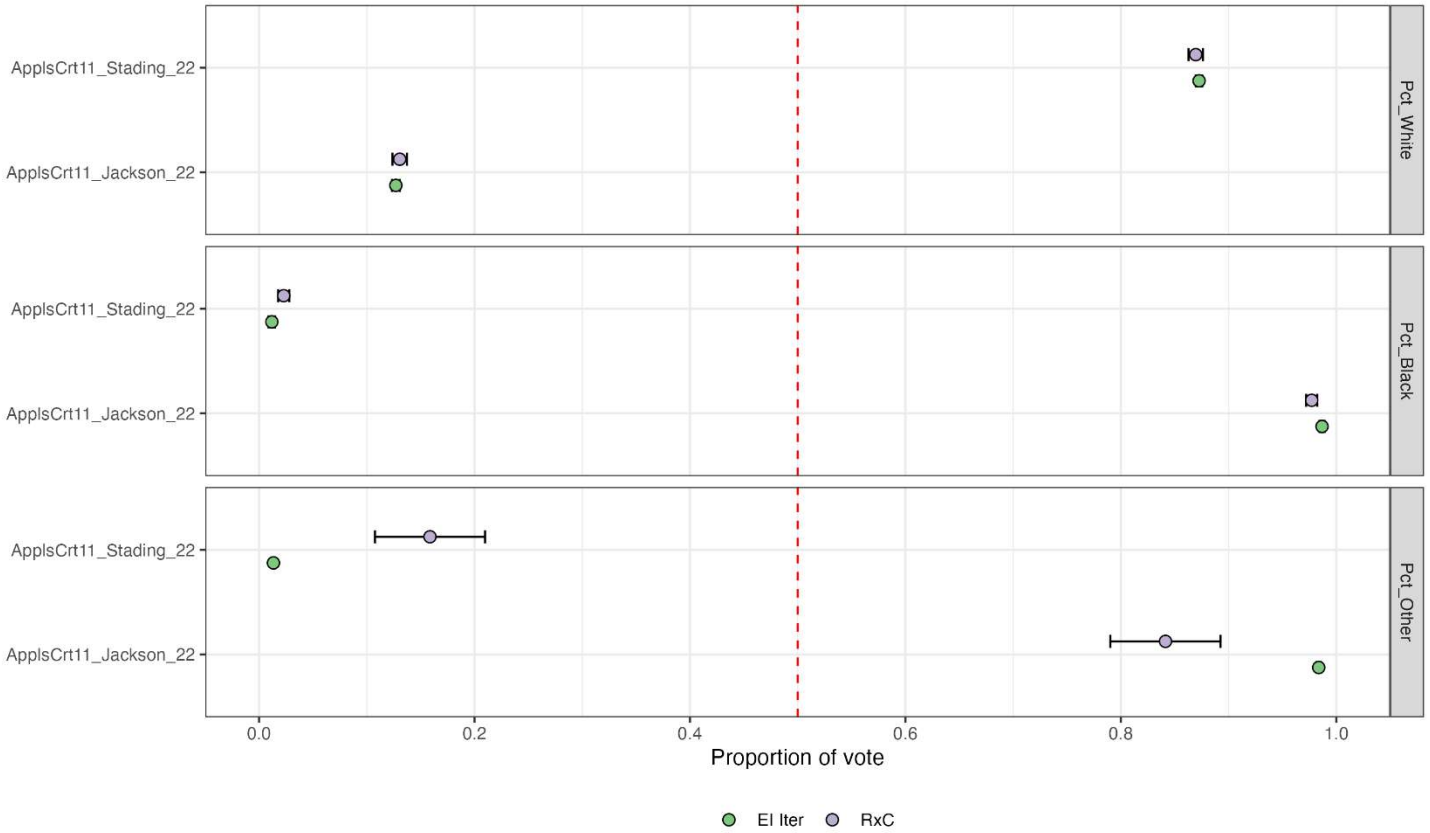

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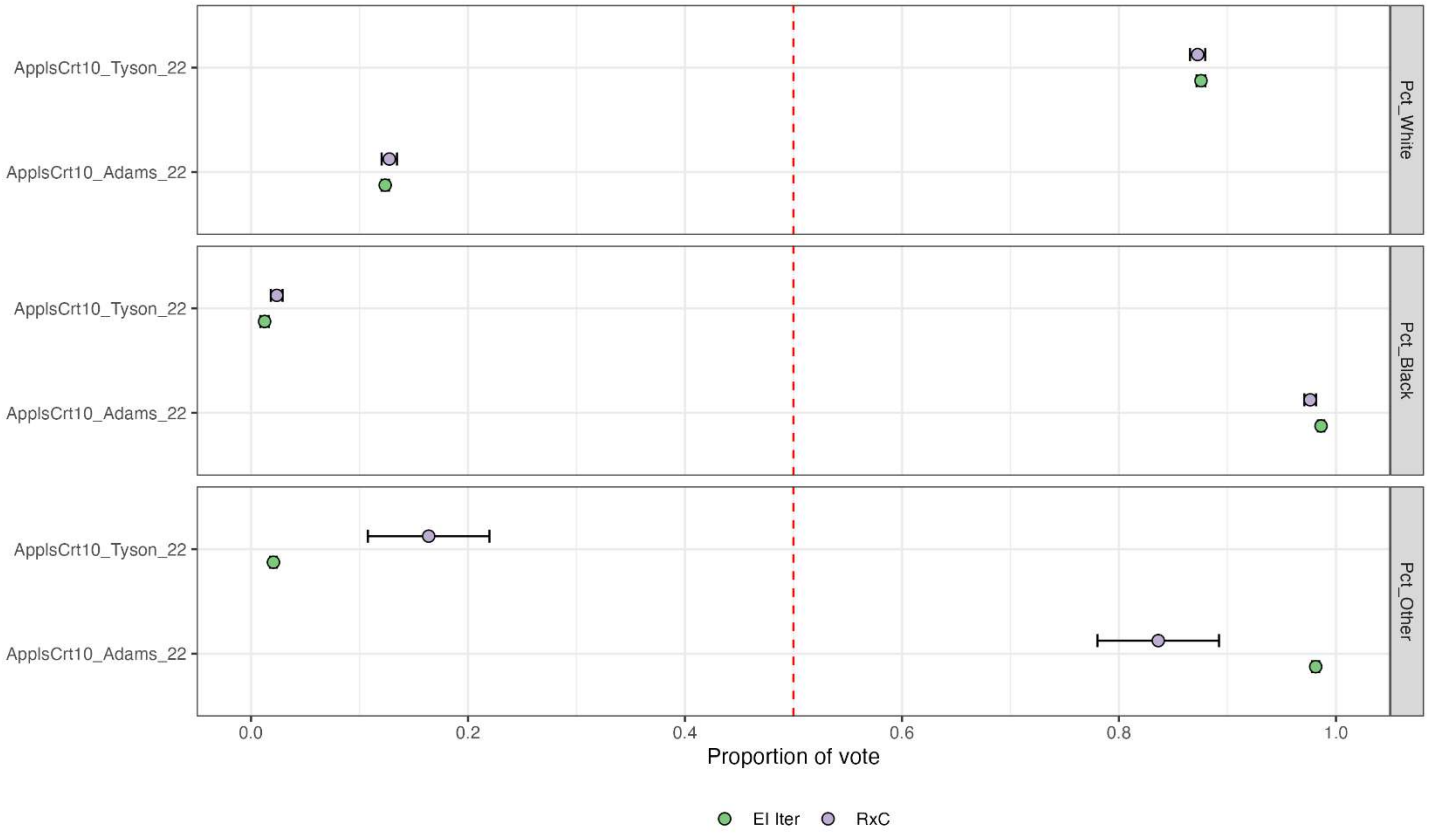

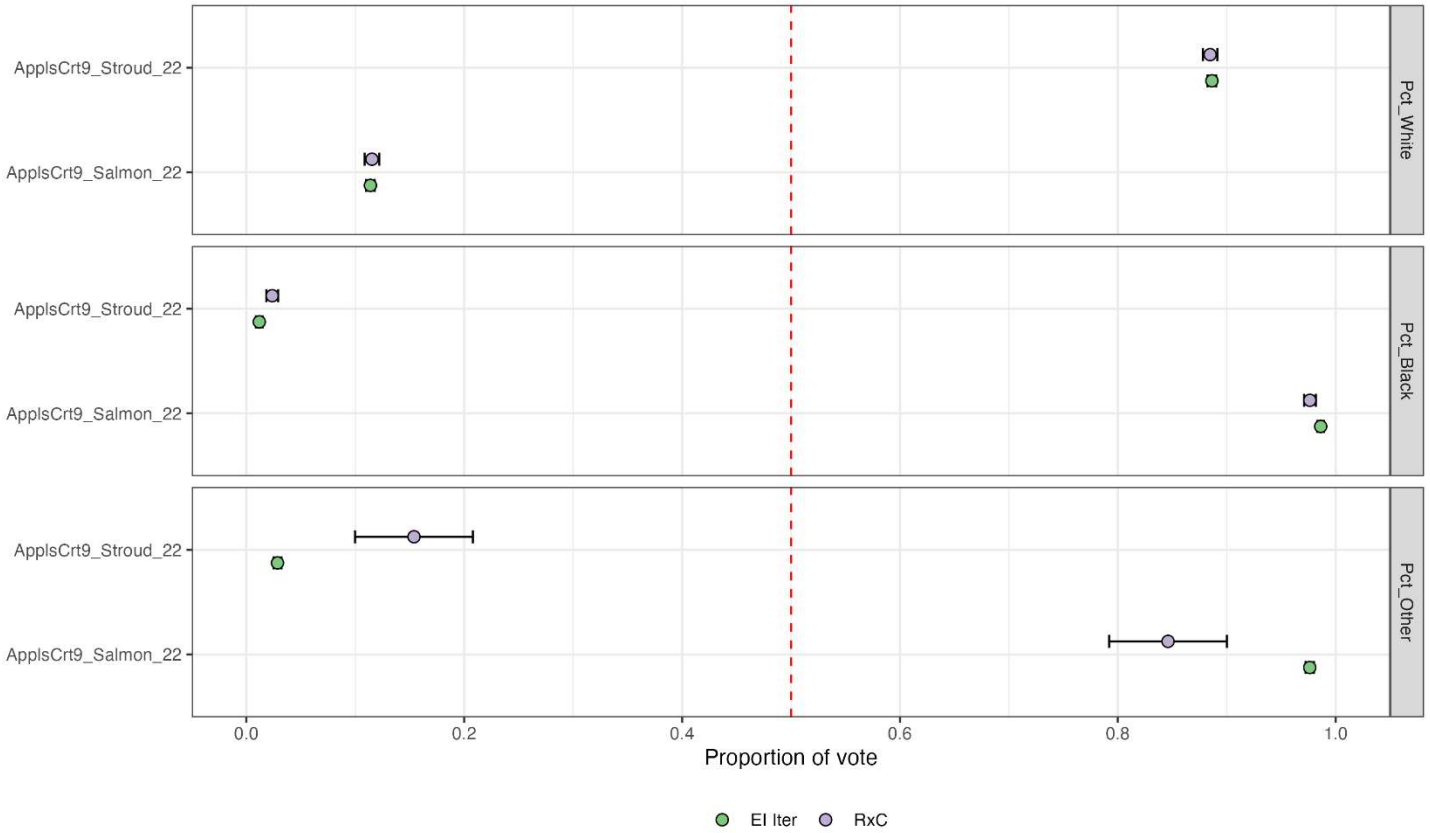

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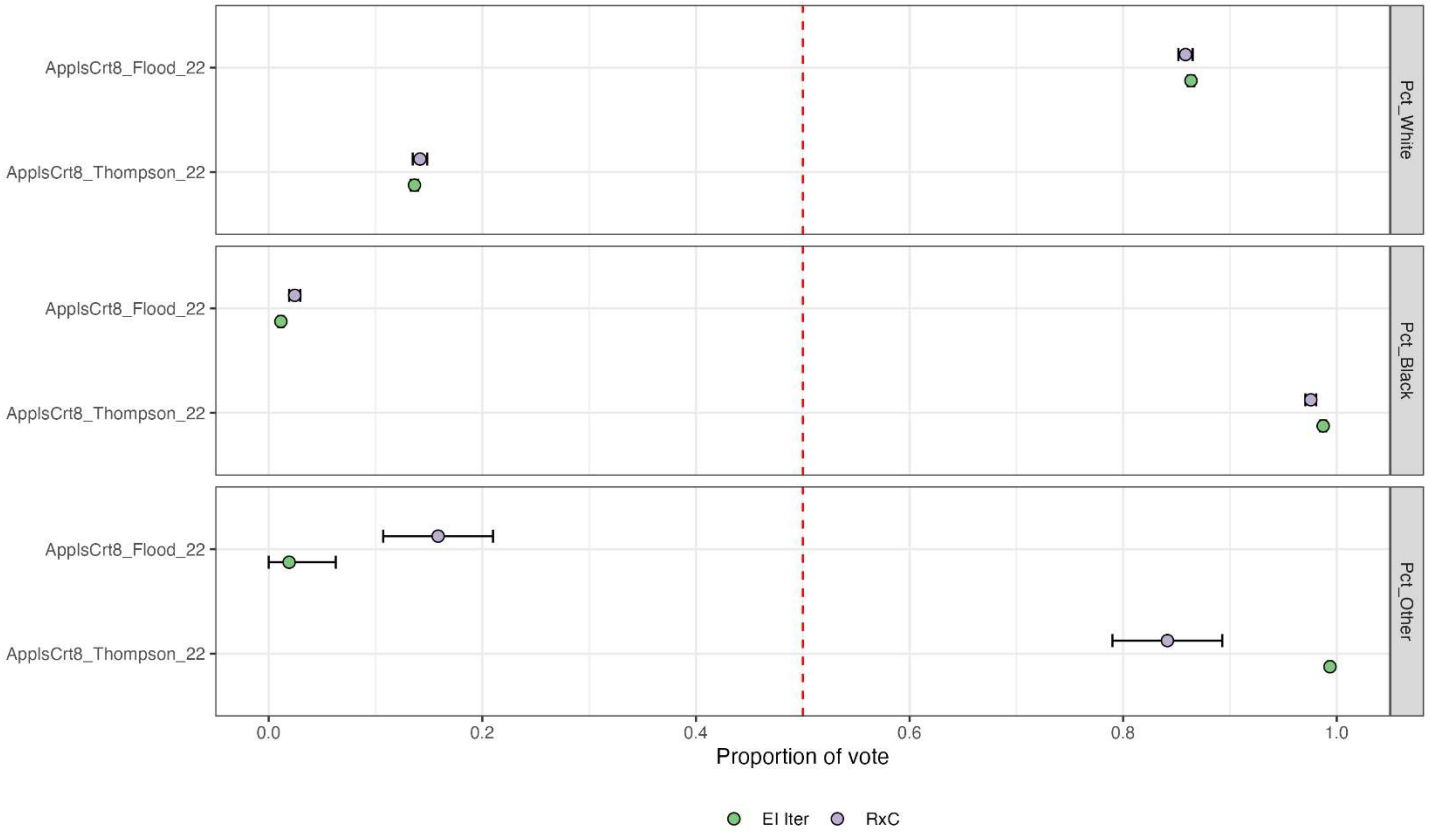

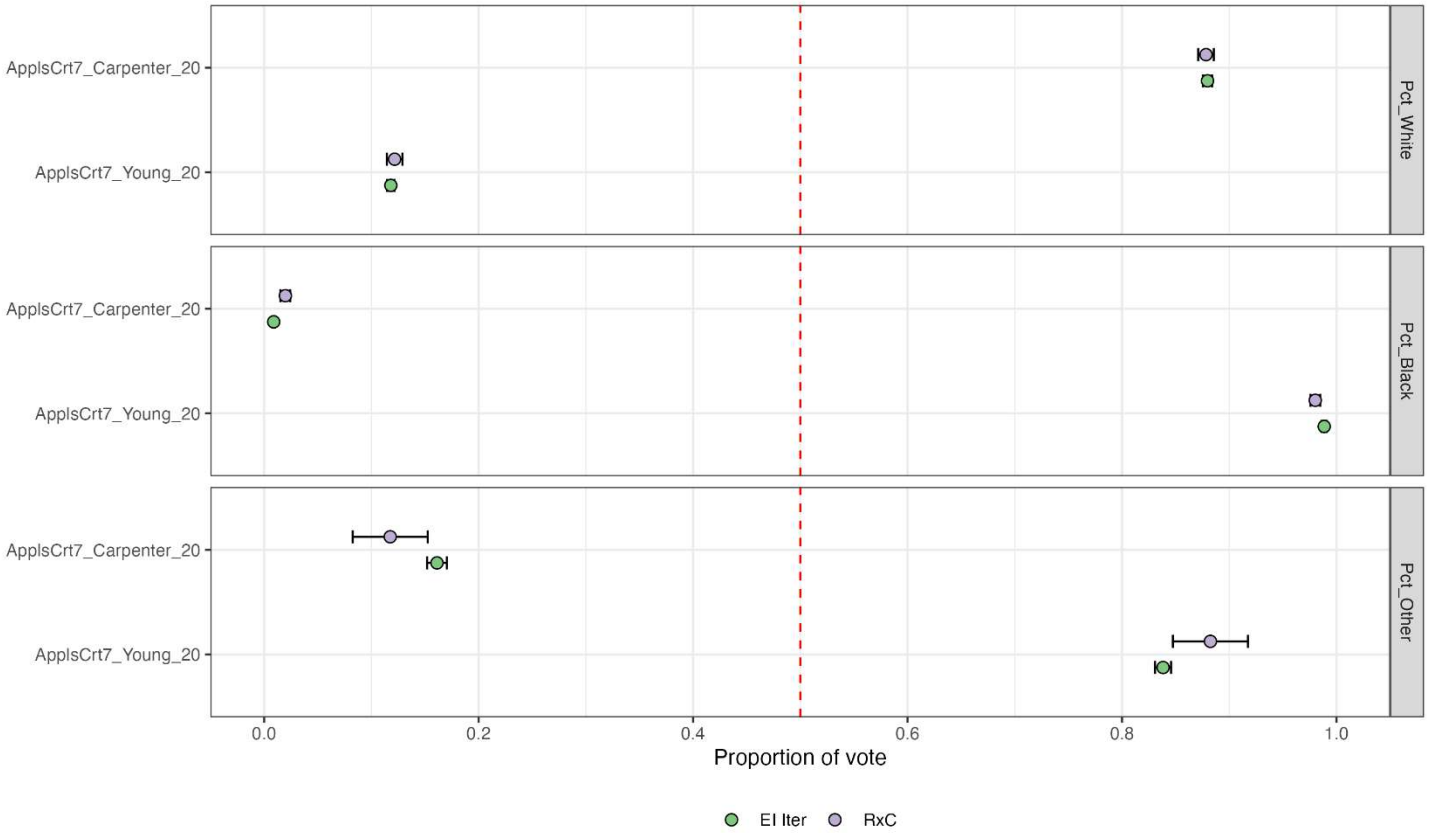

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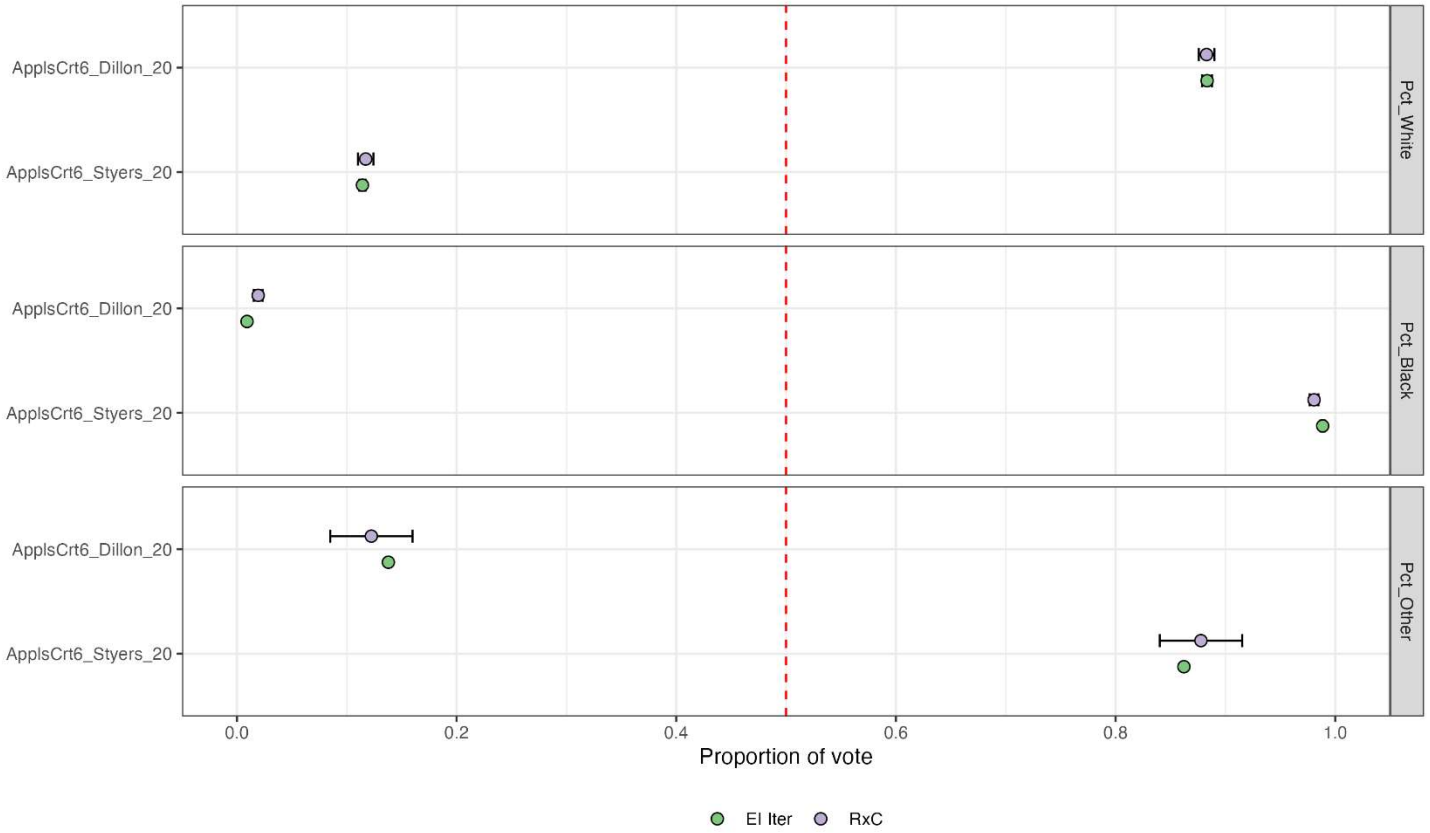

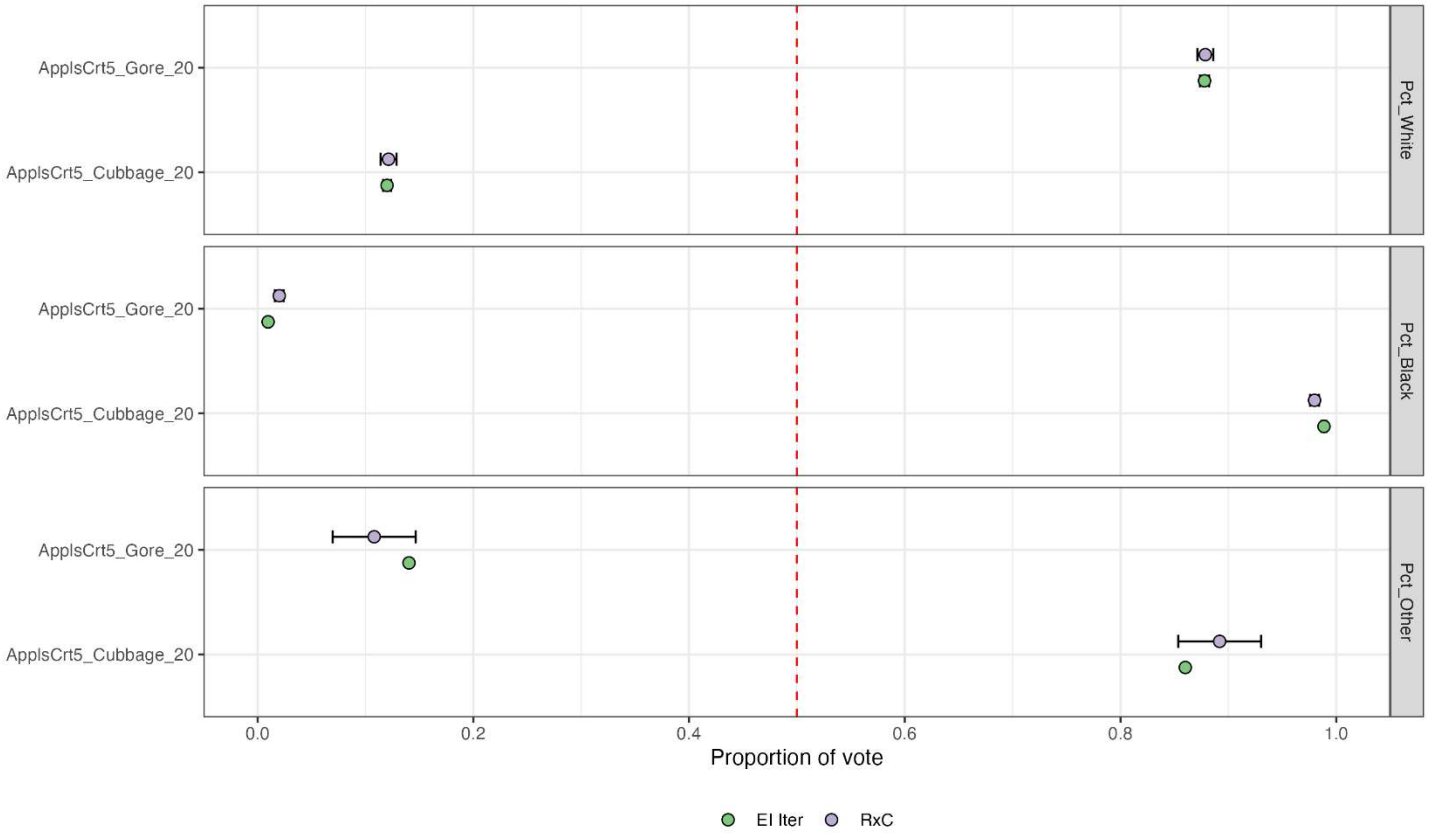

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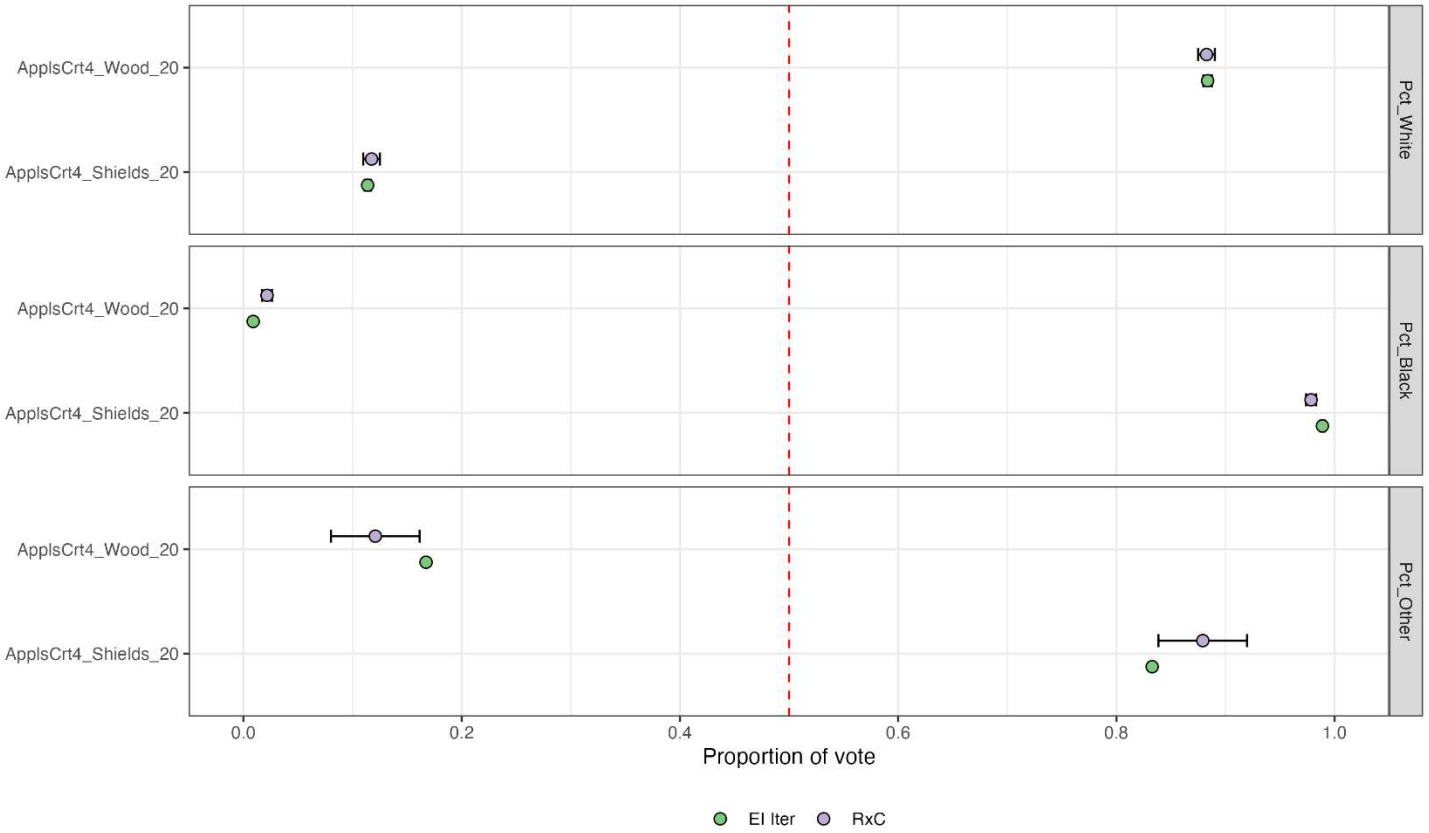

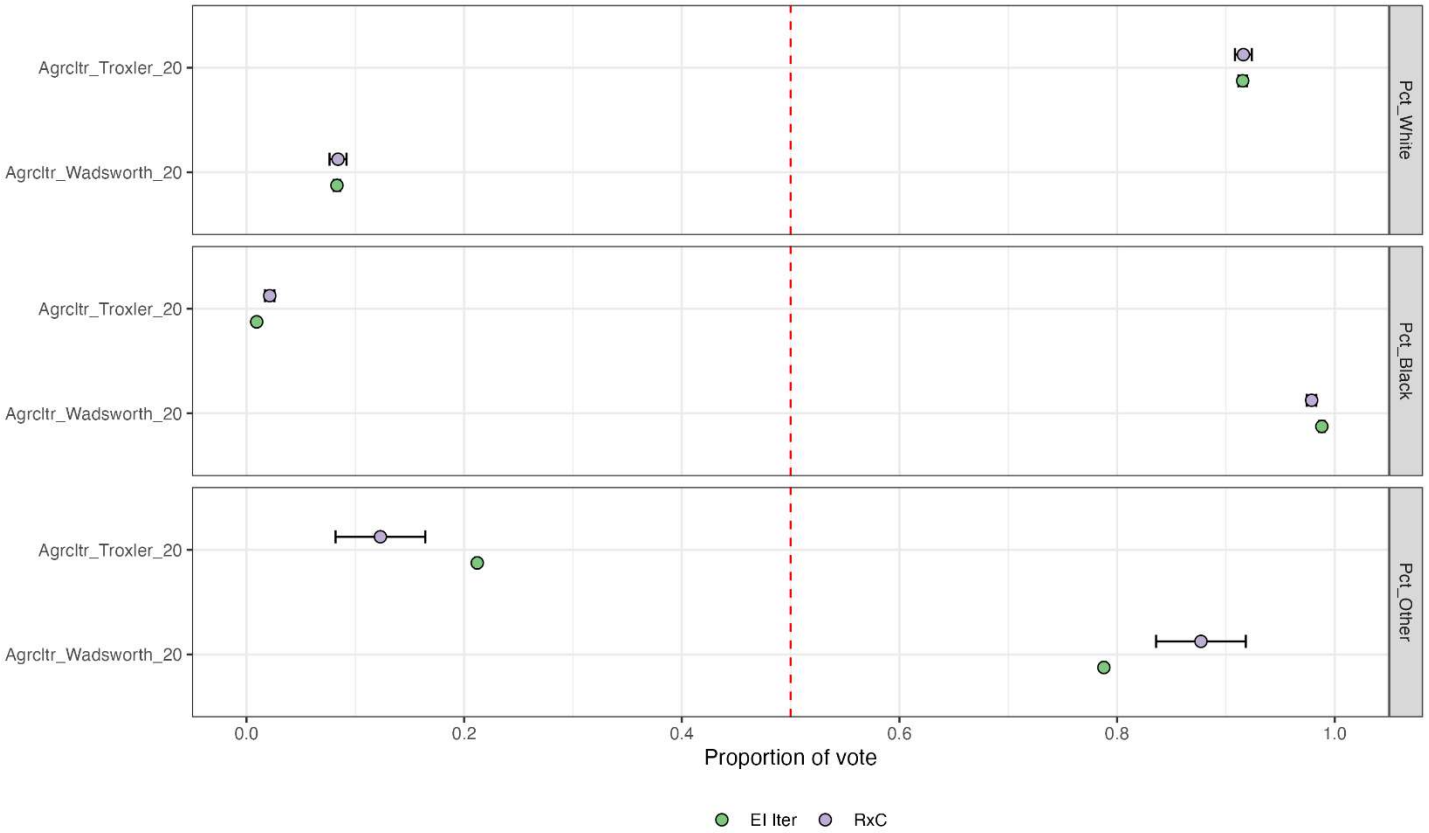
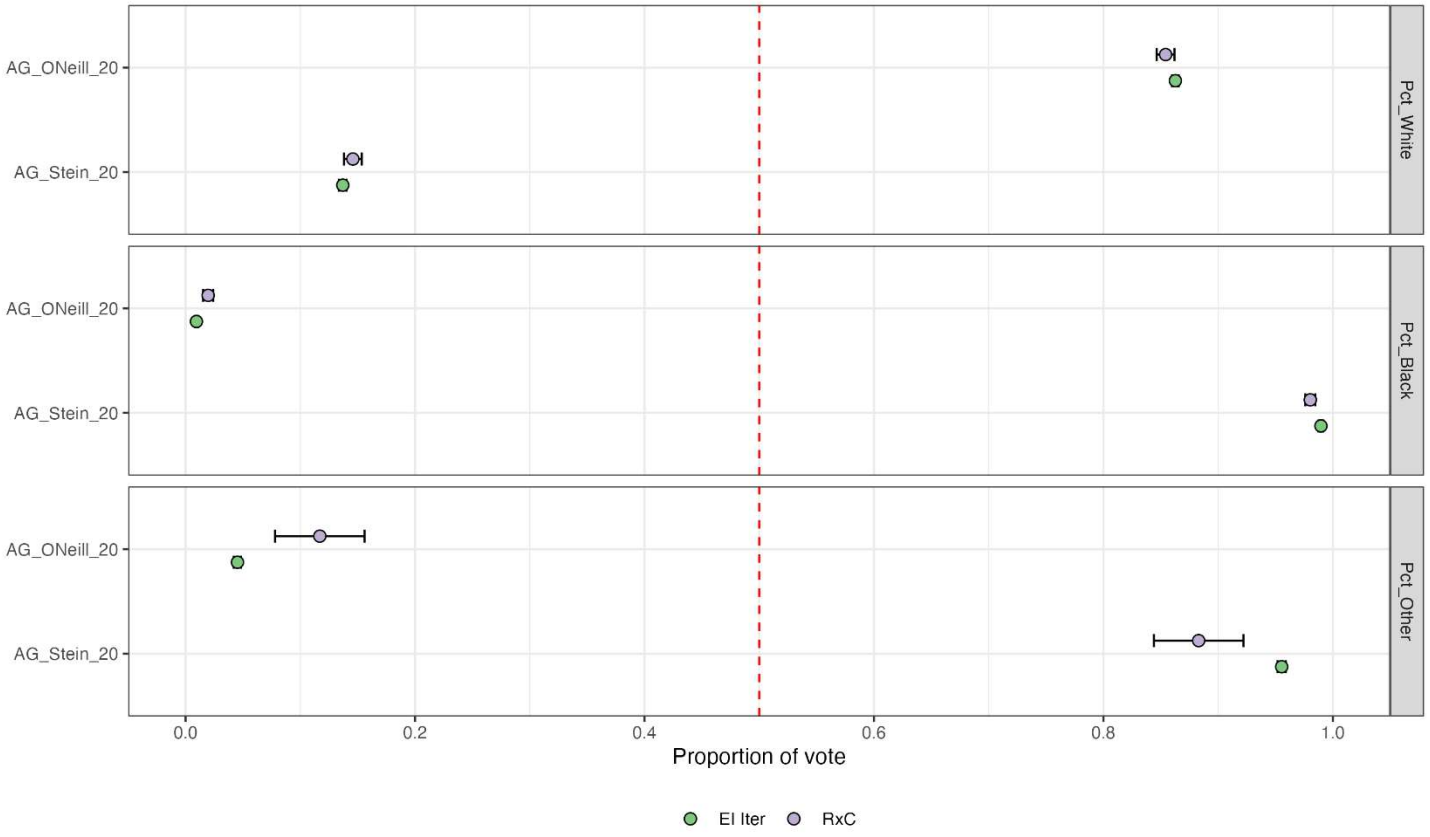
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